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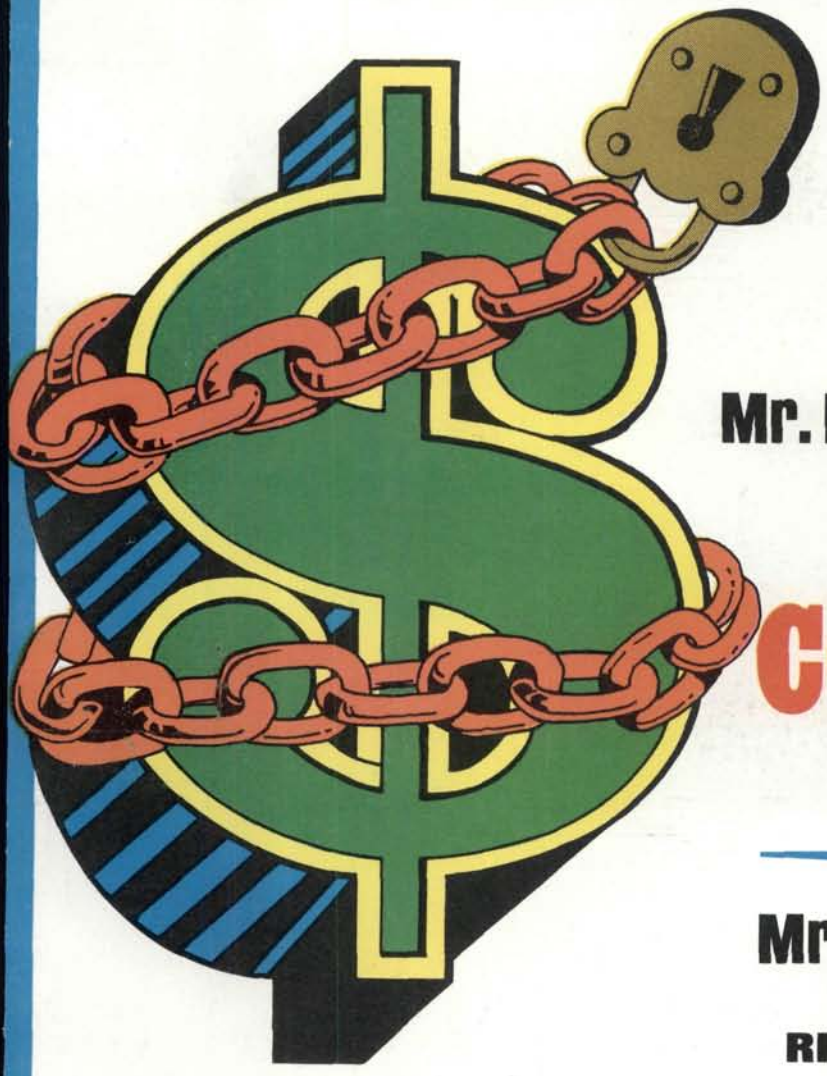
SEPTEMBER 24, 1971

Slaughter at San Quentin: What about the Other 5?
— see page 1058

NATIONAL REVIEW



Mr. Nixon's Seventh Crisis:

PRICE CONTROLS

ALAN REYNOLDS

Mr. Nixon on the Couch – 'He is a Romantic'!

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BERLIN REVISITED BY ANNE ARMSTRONG ♦ D. KEITH MANO REVIEWS THREE NOVELS ♦ ARNOLD GREEN ON W. VAN DEN HAAG ♦ BRUDNOY ♦ EDWIN McD

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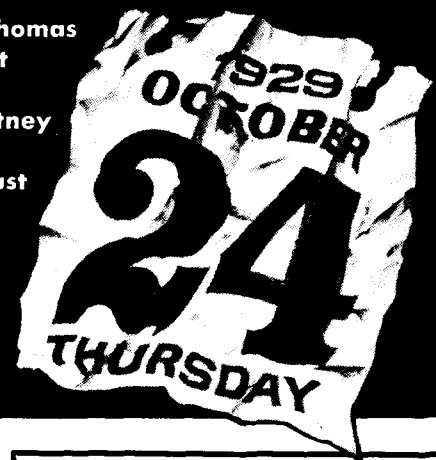

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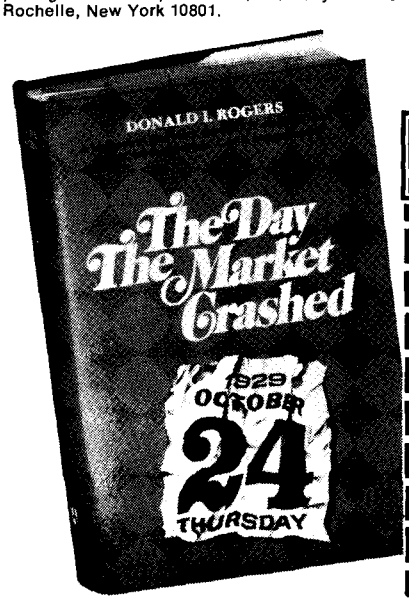
—John Magee, **Technical Analysis of Stock Trends**



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VOL. XXIII NO. 37 SEPTEMBER 24, 1971

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In This Issue

Alan Reynolds takes on President Nixon's New Economic Policy. This is Mr. Reynold's first appearance in *NR*; he has a BA in economics from UCLA, and has been a retail department manager with the J. C. Penney Co. for the past six years. Meanwhile, he has written a half-dozen free-lance articles (including one on the draft and one called "The Purge of Chicago Economists"). He is currently working on a book, tentatively entitled *Why Government?* . . . **Richard Brookhiser** has now (despite the title of his article) reached the advanced age of sixteen, and he is a junior at Irondequoit High School, which he immortalized in his first article for us a year ago (February 24, 1970). He reports: "Since last we did business, I've completed another book, half a hundred poems and some piano music, all, unfortunately, unpublished. Right now, I'm two chapters into my magnum opus, a mammoth novel set in the world of the American high-school students, to be entitled *Crazy*."

Anne Armstrong has a PhD from Columbia and is assistant professor of political science at one of the CUNY colleges. She spent five years in Germany after the War as a member of the American military government. She is currently working on a book about the Berliners. . . . Footnote to **Gerry Kirk**'s article: The August 27 *New Statesman* has a page-long article on George Jackson, half of which is devoted to differing reports on the circumstances of his death. It never once mentions the other five. . . . **Arnold W. Green** is the author of *Recreation, Leisure and Politics* and *Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society*, a standard textbook. . . . **Edwin McDowell** has been promoted to Editor of the *Arizona Republic*. . . . Theodore Schroeder is the subject of **David Brudnoy**'s dissertation. . . . **Douglas Anderson**, a young poet, is involved in the Denver-based "Poets in Schools Program," for which he visits various schools, working with each class for a week or so and helping the children to use words creatively—in fact, poetically.

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Ernest van den Haag found some Southeast Asia cities delightful, others appalling ☐ Douglas Anderson mediates on hitch-hiking as a "style of traveling."

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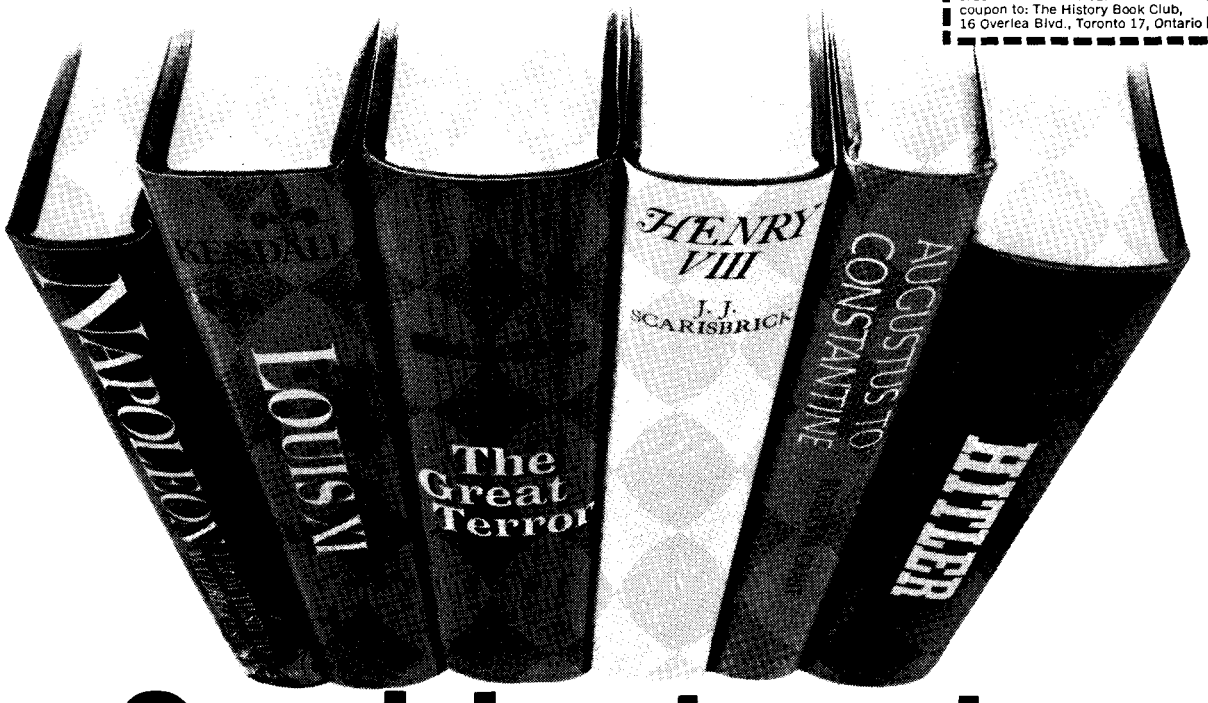

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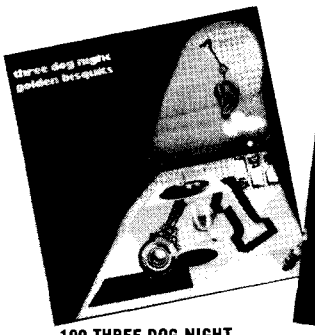

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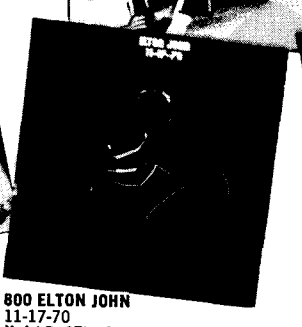

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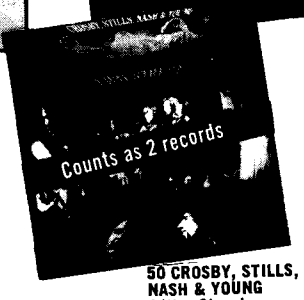

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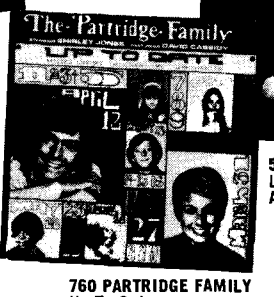

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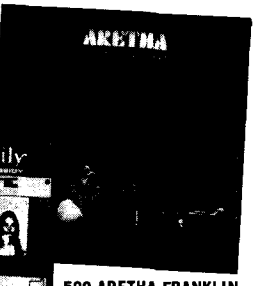

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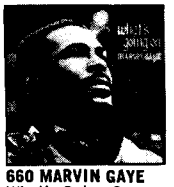

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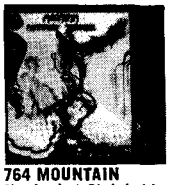

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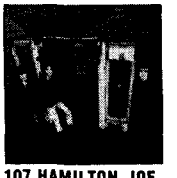

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106 HOWARD ROBERTS
Antelope Freeway
Impul LP, 8TR, CASS

370 JAMES TAYLOR
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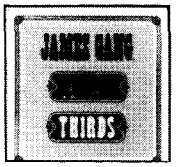
Eupho LP

803 NEIL DIAMOND
Tap Root Manuscript
Uni LP, 8TR, CASS



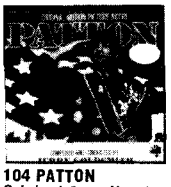
105 JAMES GANG
Thirds
ABC LP, 8TR, CASS

260 DIONNE WARWICKE
Very Dionne
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

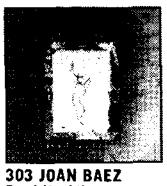
264 GUESS WHO
Born In Canada
Wand LP, 8TR, CASS

403 FERRANTE & TEICHER Music Lovers
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

108 GRASS ROOTS
More Golden Grass
Dunhi LP, 8TR. CASS

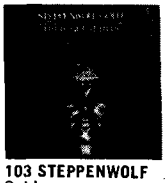


104 PATTON
Original Soundtrack
TweCe LP, 8TR, CASS

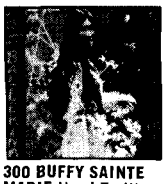


303 JOAN BAEZ
David's Album
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS

52 WOODSTOCK TWO
(2 record set)
Cotil LP, 8TR, CASS



103 STEPPENWOLF
Gold
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS



300 BUFFY SAINTE MARIE Used To Wanna Be A Ballerina
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS

263 B. J. THOMAS
Greatest Hits Vol. 1
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

700 TCHAIKOVSKY
1812 Overture
Yorks LP, 8TR, CASS

265 B. J. THOMAS
Most Of All
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

304 JOAN BAEZ
One Day At A Time
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS

267 DIONNE WARWICKE
I'll Never Fall In Love Again
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

405 BOBBY GOLDSBORO
Watching Scotty Grow
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

701 TREASURY OF GREGORIAN CHANT
Yorks LP, 8TR, CASS

266 SUSAN SINGS SESAME STREET
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

702 RED ARMY ENSEMBLE
Yorks LP, 8TR, CASS

600 OCEAN
KamSu LP, 8TR, CASS

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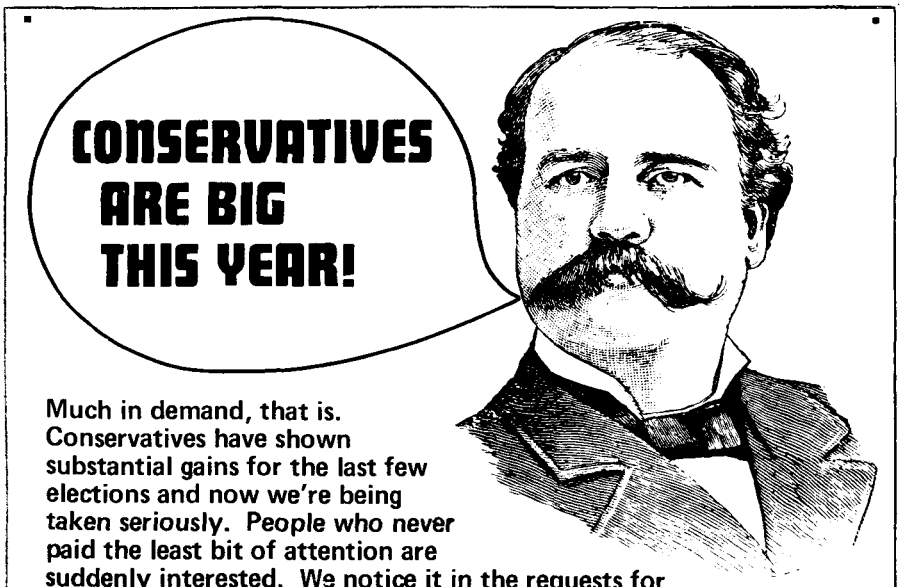

Much in demand, that is. Conservatives have shown substantial gains for the last few elections and now we're being taken seriously. People who never paid the least bit of attention are suddenly interested. We notice it in the requests for speakers we are already getting from non-conservative groups. If this is any indication it's going to get harder and harder to find a good conservative speaker.
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LETTERS

Bravo, Szamuely

May I congratulate Tibor Szamuely on his article "The Meaning of 'Left' and 'Right'" [Aug. 24]? Mr. Szamuely totally dismantles the myth that fascism is actually true conservatism exposed. After all, Mussolini was an old socialist and Hitler was the boyhood hero of Castro and Guevara.

Poughkeepsie, N.Y. JAMES H. OVERMEYER

I can barely express sufficient gratitude for Tibor Szamuely's "The Meaning of 'Left' and 'Right.'" As a student on the East Coast, I have long heard my brethren condemn American conservatives—Goldwater, Buckley et al.—as neofascists.

Thanks to Mr. Szamuely, I shall never again have to resort to compiling dozens of quotes from political scientists to remind my collectivist amigos that *theirs* is the parafascist ideology. I will simply proffer this article, with the particularly enlightening passages underlined in red ink, and casually inform my radi-peers that I shall refuse to debate anyone who will not deign to read it.

New York, N.Y. JAMES L. SHEVLIN

Revenue Sharing

Re: "No, to Revenue Sharing" [July 13].

Kudos to William G. Fredericks for the most lucid and incisive analysis of the subject to date.

Wayne, N.J. WILLIAM P. DEILE

William G. Fredericks opposes revenue sharing for wrong reasons. He says we would be stuck with what David Lilienthal has long advocated, the "decentralized administration of centralized authority." He ignores the fact that for more than fifty years, extending back into the Hoover Administration, our central government has followed a policy of deficit spending.

Governments are nonproductive. They have no revenues except from taxation or debt as a lien against future taxes. If our central government had a surplus, the conservative way to apply it would be either to reduce confiscatory taxation or to make a start on repaying our mountainous debt and burdensome interest.

Continuation of the present policy of using the graduated income tax and the Federal Reserve System to issue progressively more inconvertible currency may take us down the road to runaway inflation. Let us not think that we are immune to what happened to Germany in 1923.

Hot Springs, Ark. GEORGE M. ZIMMERMAN

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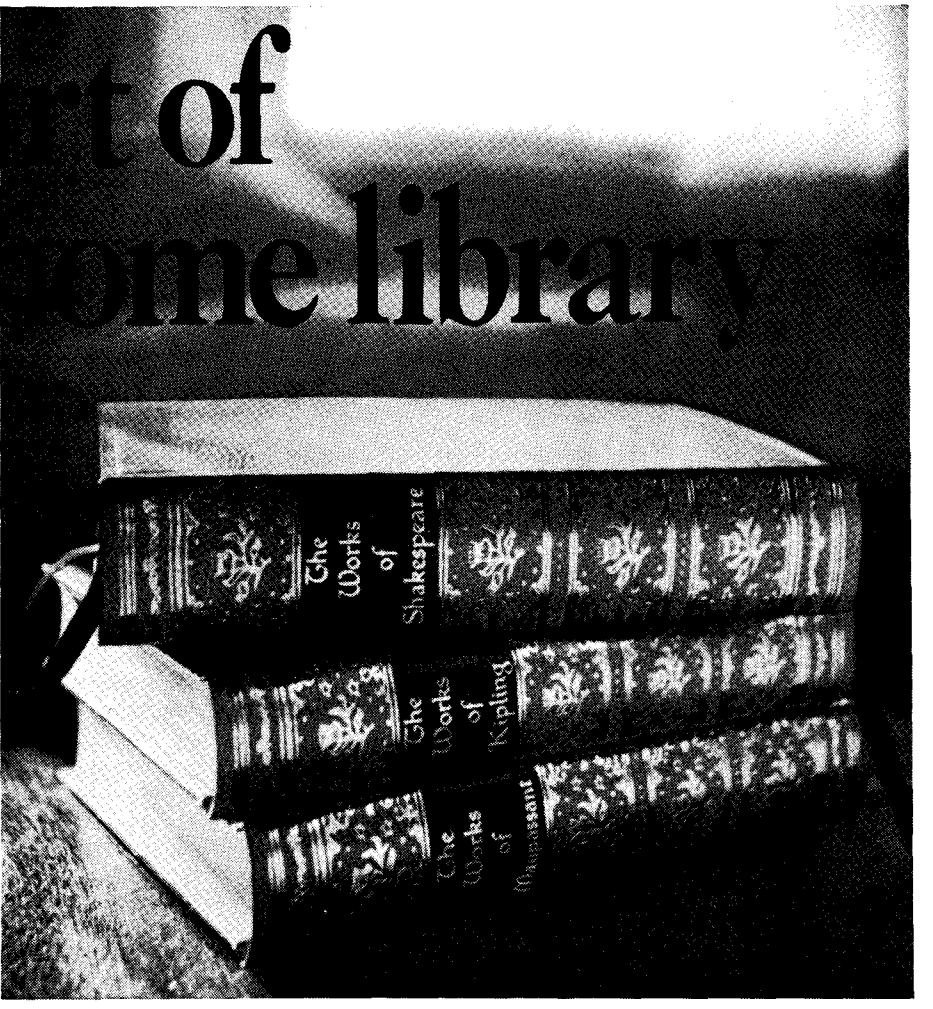

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Mitchell's Successor

Cato's "Letter from Washington" [July 27] contains an awful lot of misinformation and illogic concerning our next Attorney General. Not one of the four possible successors to John Mitchell whom Cato described is currently in the running. And the true heir presumptive is not even mentioned.

Yes, Secretary of State William Rogers *does* want a more prestigious post where he can better use his brilliant legal mind. But said post is to be found at the bench —either the appellate or the Supreme Court. As for Messrs. Ehrlichman and MacGregor, they *are* wanted (and want to be) right where they are now—in the White House by the President's ear. And Richard Kleindienst, Mitchell's deputy, was recently vetoed by key Administration officials because of too close a rapport with Barry Goldwater.

With those names out of the way, I present the leading contender for Attorney General—William Ruckelshaus, once a Mitchell underling, now Director of the Environmental Protection Agency. Although young (he's 38), Bill has had a long and admirable career.

Once a tough Indiana prosecutor, he served in the legislature and went on to become its youngest Speaker. In 1968, he came within an eyelash of prying Birch Bayh from the Senate. Since then, Mr. Ruckelshaus has won wide praise for his service as head of Justice's Criminal Division and for his ecology crusade.

Newington, Conn. JOHN M. GIZZI

A Libertarian Replies

I have always felt confident that I could look to Max Geltman's articles for a careful analysis of a teachers' strike in New York, an unraveling of the mysteries of a congress of the International in the nineteenth century, or a reminder of the horrors visited upon his fellow Jews by the continuing Imperial Russia in its modern guise. Yet, alas, one more touchstone must dissolve; for I have seen his silliness in a review of *The Anarchist Cookbook* in that issue containing the splendid Buckley Papers [July 27].

Now, I hold no brief for the *Cookbook* and its dubious wisdom. Here is one "disaffected libertarian" who finds violence distasteful for many of the same reasons that most government appears unacceptable. I would, however, take issue with Mr. Geltman's vague comments on anarchism. The relevant distinction, for an anarchist, is that the only acceptable police protection is that which is voluntarily engaged by contract. Admittedly this emphasis is usually found among so-called right-wing anarchists; but such people as Karl Hess need no lecturing by Mr. Geltman on human nature, delinquent behavior or the chaos that comes from flirtation with violence for whatever ends. It is simply that today it is the state that is employing antisocial violence for its ends both here and abroad. Moreover it is still stealing the resources to operate its agencies of coercion.

The root fallacy seems to be confusing the state with the social order. There is much in the writings most dear to literate American conservatives that argues the necessity for maintaining the distinction—e.g., in Ortega y Gasset. The state and its armies and police forces are, let's face it, the agents, not of society, but of some subset thereof. If the state were truly "society's" agent, it would not have to resort to such questionable methods as involuntary payroll-tax deductions and the enslavement of men through the draft.

The charge against anarchists of "nihilism" is unworthy of someone with Mr. Geltman's historical knowledge. Whether he uses this term as a reference to the Russian political terrorists of the late 1800s (the original meaning of the term) or in a broader philosophic context, it has little to do with anarchism. Violence, though deplorable, is not nihilist prima facie. Johann Most, as I understand it, was only a late-comer to anarchism and is remembered most for his collectivist-inspired feuds with Kropotkin.

Milwaukee, Wisc. JON V. BRIESEN

The Court on Schools

"The Parochial Schools" ["The Week," July 13] is inconsistent with your usual high standards of logic and common sense.

Item: Your criticism of the "intellectual quality" of the Burger opinion appears petulant. Conservatism would have been better served by an analysis of the central theme of Burger's argument that government aid leads to supervision and inevitably to entanglement between state and church.

Item: There is nothing about the due-process clause or Supreme Court rulings concerning it to suggest that a person who pays taxes to support public schools is denied due process of the law if he elects also to pay tuition to a private school. Public schools are deemed a public good and are therefore financed from the public purse. The presumption is that all of society benefits when each child is provided an educational opportunity regardless of his finances. If utilization were the criterion for payment, then any person without children in school would also be denied due process when taxed to support schools.

Item: With about 85 per cent of all nonpublic elementary and secondary schools being Roman Catholic, the matter of public aid to religious schools becomes substantially one of public aid to Roman Catholic schools. The quality of public *v.* parochial schools not really being in question, one must ask why the Roman Catholic Church expends so much on education. One, if not the largest, reason is the injection of the Roman Catholic religion into the daily lives of the young, to make it as much a part of life as meals and

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sleep, to implant and nurture a lifelong reverence, and to establish the Roman Catholic religion as a natural, necessary, inseparable part of life. While considerable merit attaches to those aims, public support through taxes for such schools clearly violates the First Amendment.

Deerfield, Ill. J. G. PASTORIUS JR.

I thoroughly agree with your restrained castigation of the Supreme Court's decision in the case of state aid to parochial schools, but I deplore your reference to the First Amendment with the implication that the Court's bad construction of it was the fault of this decision. The fact is that the Court's consideration of the First Amendment as a restraint upon states' actions is now and has been for twenty years a violent defiance of the language of the Amendment and a blatant reversal of more than 150 years of First Amendment construction by the Supreme Court itself.

The fusion of the First Amendment with the Fourteenth is the fraudulent concoction of Black and Douglas, both of whom have used their thirty-year tenure on the Court to infuse the first eight amendments gradually into the Fourteenth in order to strip the states of their constitutional power to govern themselves. Conservative constitutionalists are regularly trapped into criticizing the Court's "construction" of the First Amendment in prayer cases when the proper course of action is to denounce the Court's *use* of the First Amendment in deciding these cases.

South Bend, Ind. CLARENCE MANION

Air Monopoly

Except for some minute details, you hit the proverbial nail on the head with your editorial on the International Air Transport Association ["The Week," July 13]. As a member of the industry, I am glad to see the beginnings of a recovery from the disease of price fixing, with which only one carrier (Icelandic) was never infected. By the looks of things on the inside, the price war will continue for some time. The major carriers you mentioned are hungry and will do anything to capture half a dozen passengers.

What your editorial did not mention in regard to the charter airlines is that before the CAB is a proposition that charter flights operated by charter airlines (or any scheduled airline) need not be composed of Affinity Groups. That is to say, not composed of one group of people. If the CAB approves this move, the charter carriers may then put as many individual groups on each charter flight as the new provision would allow. This has the scheduled carriers scared to death. The board of Pan Am, which is composed largely of ex-CAB appointees, is hard at work lobbying against this proposal.

Lastly, a little insight into your weekend trip suggestion. All carriers deliberately refrain from making a weekend trip to Europe available. Most North Atlantic

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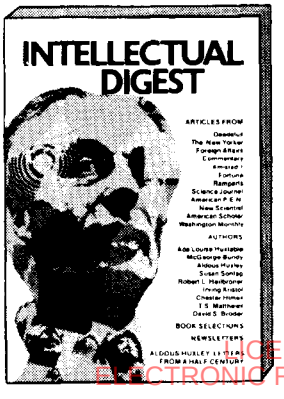

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The Socialist Myth

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W·T WEYBRIGHT AND TALLEY New York

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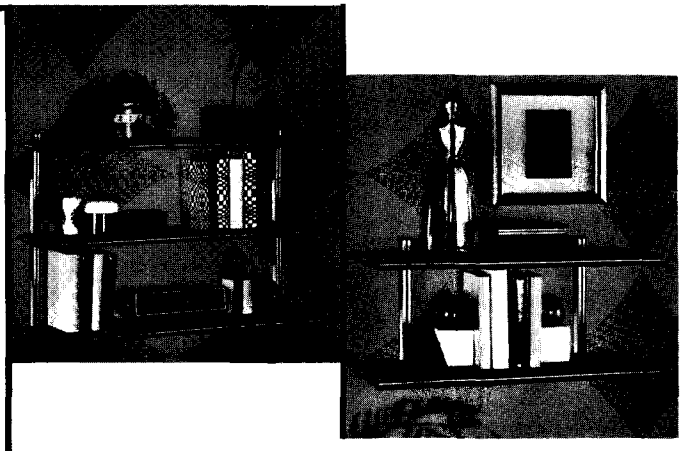

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Philadelphia, Pa. NAME WITHHELD

An Accusation

It was with a sense of mounting horror that I read Dennis Fagan's article "Your Future in Liberalism" [Aug. 10]. That was, in my opinion, the most blatant incitement to outright treason I have ever seen. You freely admit that Mr. Fagan is a student at Fordham. This does not surprise me in the least; Fordham has long been notorious as a hotbed of Comsymp professors who, following the tenets of Lenin, brainwash and subvert our youth.

The principle of fair play demands that you allow me to list just a few of the benefits young people can reap should they turn to the ultra-right of the political spectrum:

1) If qualified, young people may be awarded the coveted John Birch Kick-a-Commie Award. (An easy achievement, actually; Commies often wear long hair and go barefooted.)

2) Should a youth really apply himself, he can shoot for the Robert De Pugh Know-Your-Enemy Award. It is an annual prize given to young people who best exemplify a talent for denouncing pinkos.

3) And then there is the Asa Carter Humanitarian Award, given to young boys between the ages of fourteen and eighteen who think up new invectives.

4) Or perhaps the young person will choose to try for the Eugene "Bull" Conner Blue Ribbon for Best-in-Show Award. (Interested persons please note: Only German Shepherds and Dobermans are eligible.)

Just let me say in closing that I was not surprised *one whit* to see Mr. Fagan's *shocking* article appearing in a magazine I have long suspected of being a *crypto-liberal* publication. *Some* people may be fooled by your *laughable* attempt to pose as a conservative periodical, but *I'm* on to your game, and have been ever since WFB came out foursquare against Hitler. There are *many more* of us *patriots* than you think, and *we've* got your number. Right now *crosshairs* are . . . well, never mind; you get the idea.

Mobile, Ala. WILLIAM C. SORRELS

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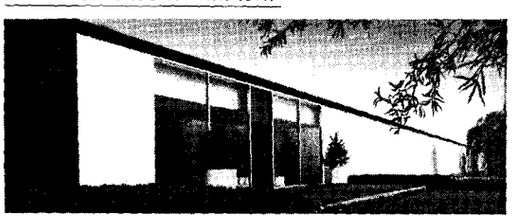

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Outfox the Fellow in the Bright Nightgown

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He was an insomniac of such proportions that sometimes he could only achieve sleep under a beach umbrella on which a garden hose sprinkled imitation rain. Yet he referred to death (mysteriously, but without real aversion) as "the fellow in the bright nightgown."

He was unforgettably, incomparably, uniquely W. C. Fields, and his lesson was that style, style, style is all. Rhetorical style. Theatrical style. Psychological style. *Style, the surest outward sign of substance, of a special and original inward view.*

And so, it is to this sure, true, blithe spirit, "Uncle Willie," that we dedicate a new magazine. Our name: AUDIENCE. Our purpose: to outfox the fellow in the bright nightgown by keeping you alive to beauty, to humor, *to today.*

THE PEOPLE

AUDIENCE celebrates excellence wherever excellence is to be found – brownstone, commune, playing field, concert hall, garret, campus, proscenium, foundry, ghetto, chateau, Volkswagen bus.

Our Editorial Board is something else again:

Alan Arkin, Saul Bass, Saul Bellow, Robert Bolt, John Cassavetes, Marisol, Inge Morath, Gordon Parks, Anne Sexton, Robert Penn Warren, Tom Wicker, John A. Williams.

THE GRAPHICS

AUDIENCE is published every other month – a magazine for enjoying at leisure. It comes to you in hard covers, without advertising – a magazine for saving. It is designed by Seymour Chwast and Milton Glaser, whose Push Pin Studios recently became the first American design group ever honored with an exhibition at the Louvre. Their pilot issue of AUDIENCE, by the way, has already won top honors from the prestigious Society of Publication Designers – an unheard-of coup first time out.

Specifications? Probably not even a Medici Pope could have commanded a book more opulent, more lavish. 216 square inches to the open spread. And depending on the contents of individual issues, a positively sensuous interlacing of papers. Papers for art reproduction, of a weight and quality for framing, and color plates by the bin. Rich tint papers for text. Typefaces of custom design. Foldouts. Stitchins. Endpapers. And for permanence, heavy board covers. In graphics, too, AUDIENCE is a celebration of style. A celebration of excellence.

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Where available in a very few expensive metropolitan bookstores, AUDIENCE will carry a cover price of $4.95 the issue, or $29.70 for the full volume year. *A reward for becoming a Charter Subscriber, however, is saving almost half this cost—provided you're prompt in using our coupon:*

Volume I, Number One is, as you can imagine, in short supply. As much as we'd like to accept all comers, inevitably we will have to disappoint the stragglers.

"Don't let 'em bamboozle you, son,"

Fields once said, "but never drink anything stronger than gin before breakfast, either." Our magazine is guaranteed to please. But if, for some reason, our Volume I, Number One issue *should* leave you feeling bamboozled, return it, and so much for AUDIENCE and you.

CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME ONE, NUMBER ONE ISSUE

"It was Fields who taught us that a man's ideas are not, ultimately, as important as his imaginative stake in reality, and that Earl Long, in his pajamas, with his stripper, is indescribably preferable to Billie Sol Estes, with his Sunday-piety and sex-segregated swimming pool."

John Clellon Holmes has written the dedication of our premier issue to W. C. Fields with "Uncle Willy and Us" Drawings, Edward Sorel.

"Nijinsky had a pair of feet you'd have had to see to believe. His heels and the base of his toes were equidistant from his ankles. No other mammal with feet like that had ever been seen outside Australia."

Nelson Algren writes on a standing skirmish between the dancer and his impresario, Diaghilev, by way of proving an Algren theory that integrity in art is "a matter of who swings the mackerel." Illustration, Milton Glaser.

"Q. If you could change one character trait in yourself, it would be?
A. My shyness."

Answer on a Playmate Data Sheet, required of each candidate before her photograph, posed nude, is considered for a Playboy foldout. The hilarious piece is by Tom Meehan, and it's called "We Like to Find a Late-Maturing Girl." Illustrations, Robert Grossman.

"In a village somewhere in the Ukraine there lived a poor man called Todie. Todie had a wife, Shaindel, and seven children, but he could never earn enough to feed them properly. He tried many trades and failed in all of them. It was said of Todie that if he decided to deal in candles the sun would never set . . ."

Blend Sholem Aleichem with Hans Christian Andersen, and you get Isaac Bashevis Singer's "Shrewd Todie and Lyzer the Miser," one of two fables clearly marked for posterity in the issue. Illustrations, Seymour Chwast.

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Sixty years ago Congress passed a law to save the Alaska fur seal.

This year it's considering a law that could destroy it.

In 1911, a four-nation treaty was signed to save the Alaska fur seal from indiscriminate slaughter on the open sea, a method that had reduced the fur seal population to near extinction.

Alaska Fur Seals Increased 1,000%

As a result of the treaty, and with the careful guidance of the U.S. government, the Alaska fur seal population has grown from 120,000 to approximately 1⅓ million (the latter figure according to the latest official estimates)—an increase of over 1,000%.

In March, a Bill was introduced into Congress that would end the treaty, leave the Aleut natives, who are dependent on the harvests, jobless and with no practical alternative, and eventually return the Alaska fur seal to open sea killing — a method that is sure to complete the job it didn't sixty years ago.

What Is The Issue?

Why, you might ask, has such a Bill been proposed?

Because certain "conservation" organizations have succeeded in misleading many people into believing that what has been going on in the Pribilof Islands for the last sixty years is nothing but some kind of inhuman carnage.

Have all the knowledgeable conservationists and scientists involved in establishing and administering this fur seal program since 1911 been wrong?

Has it been wrong to have administered the fur seal program in such a way that the herd has grown from near extinction to 1⅓ million?

Has it been wrong that a four-nation treaty dependent on international cooperation has permitted this phenomenal growth?

Is it wrong to harvest animals surplus to the needs of the herd so that disease and starvation are minimized for the benefit of the great majority of the animals?

Is it wrong that man, through sound principles and programs, manages nature, to the benefit of man and nature?

Emotion Vs. Conservation

Because these organizations cannot attack the fur seal program on its record of successful wildlife management, they have resorted to innuendo and exploitation of emotions. How? By clouding the major issue of conservation with the issue of the harvesting method. Yes. The seals are clubbed. Because scientists have as yet found no other method that is more humane, quicker, or more efficient.

The $10,000 Misunderstanding

Which seals are taken? Mostly three- and four-year-old bachelor males. No baby seals are killed; no animals are ever skinned alive.

An offer was made that if any organization could produce an authentic photograph of a baby fur seal or seals being killed on the Pribilof Islands as part of the annual U.S. commercial harvest, The Fouke Company would donate $10,000 to the organization, and if any individual could produce such a photograph, The Fouke Company would give him $1,000. Nobody produced such a photograph.

Consider The Consequences

If this Bill is passed, the consequences will be disastrous.

The Aleuts, who have been dependent on the seal harvests for generations, will be without their livelihood and left with an alternative that is neither practical nor satisfactory to the Aleuts. Many others' jobs will be threatened, or eliminated. (Yes, the fur seal program is also a business — a business that supports a conservation program at no cost to the taxpayers. The United States receives a share, as do Japan and Canada. The state of Alaska gets 70% of the net proceeds from the U.S. share of the Pribilof harvests, and the balance goes into a general treasury fund.)

The greatest consequence, however, is for the seals. Most of their time is spent in international waters—and they can be preyed upon by any nation, using any method they care to use. Don't mislead yourself into believing others will practice good will if the treaty is ended. They won't. Many countries have commercial fishing industries — and the fewer seals around, the more fish.

Banning the importation of Alaska fur pelts into the U.S. will have little, or no, effect on world seal harvests. The majority of Alaska fur sealskins are sold to Europe, and they can just as easily buy from any of a number of other countries, or individuals, who would now be able to get into the act.

There is little doubt that the Alaska fur seal cannot survive a return to open sea sealing.

We Need Your Help

Think about it. And think about the long-range consequences of this Bill. Don't delude yourself into believing it's for a good cause, because its end is an evil one. And if it goes through, it's only the beginning. (We kill domestic animals and use their products in our daily lives—is that not also "immoral?")

If you're on our side, and the side of conservation and the Alaska fur seal, please write to your senators and representatives in Congress and protest the enactment of S.1315 and H.R. 6558.

For more complete information on the Alaska fur seal Program, write to:

The Fouke Company, Route 1, Box 168, Greenville, S. C. 29611

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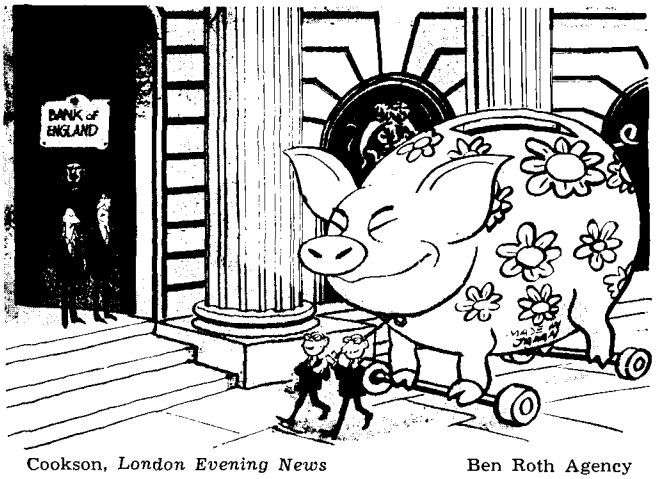
FOR THE RECORD

■ **Stephen Schlesinger**'s *New Democrat* ecstatic over **John Lindsay**'s switch ("It reinforces the liberal wing of the party at a time when progressivism is in grave peril" —grave peril from those "Neo-Nixonites," Sens. **Humphrey** and **Jackson**). *New Democrat* says it could support either Lindsay or **McGovern**. . . . Gallup shows 75 per cent of Americans believe Lindsay wants to run for Presidency, only 31 per cent think he can win the Democratic nomination. . . . In Lindsay's camp, to run his media campaign, **David Garth**, who handled **Stevenson** in '60, **McCarthy** in '68, **John Tunney** and **Adlai III** in '70. . . . New York politicos wondering what's up with Police Commissioner **Patrick Murphy**, whose recent sociological pronouncements—they-are-the-victims-of-their-environment bit—make him sound more like a politician than a cop. Could it be that Lindsay is grooming Murphy to run for mayor in '73, which would help solidify whatever base Lindsay retains in the City? . . . In New Hampshire last week Rep. **Paul McCloskey** said he'd stay in the race even if Vietnam had vamoosed as an issue by next spring because Nixon is so often wrong. McCloskey looking less and less like Eugene McCarthy, more and more like **Harold Stassen**. . . . Communist *Daily World* summed up YAF Presidential nominating convention in Houston a fortnight ago with headline: "**Reagan** Yields to **Agnew** As No. 1 Reactionary."



Cookson, *London Evening News* Ben Roth Agency

"I believe it's some kind of idea for a simplified international monetary system."

■ *School's In:* And **National Association of College Admissions** indicates there are thirty thousand unfilled places, mostly in small private liberal arts colleges. Reasons for dropoff: 1) With less pressure from draft some students taking year off, 2) others shopping around for cheaper education (state universities, community colleges), 3) more going in for vocational training. . . . Pressures easing in grade schools. **Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies** says there were 15.5 per cent fewer children under five in 1970 than in 1960 even though there has been an increase of 29 per cent in the number of women of child-bearing ages (15 to 34). . . . Less pressure, too, on **Catholic seminaries** which show a drop of 50 per cent in enrollment in past four years (from 46,000 seminarians in 1966 to 24,000 in 1970).

■ As Gallup and Harris see it: First **Gallup** Presidential popularity poll since the China overture and NEP shows **Richard Nixon** running strong, five or more points ahead of **Muskie**, Humphrey and **Kennedy**. In June they were neck and neck. . . . **Harris** finds that 73 per cent of the people approve Mr. Nixon's new economic package, only 15 per cent oppose it. . . . And Gallup says 67 per cent of Americans think newly enfranchised eighteen to 21 year olds should vote from their permanent home communities. Five states —**Florida, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Vermont** — now permit student voters to register on campus.

■ Some Cuban refugee groups delighted that **Castro** has cut out the "Freedom Flights" from Havana to Miami. Says **Wilfred Blanco Pi**, head of the Cuban Committee against Mass Expatriation (in Miami): "You cannot liberate a nation by evacuating it." . . . Castro's newest deal is to build junior high schools in the country so that students can spend three hours a day in the fields and the rest at class. One recently built school is called "**The Martyrs of Kent State U.**" . . . **Uruguay** is putting out a stamp in honor of **Dan Mitrione**, the American police adviser who was kidnaped and killed by the Tupamaros just about a year ago. . . . Peru has granted a pension of $750 a month to **Fernando Belaunde Terry**, Peru's last constitutionally elected President. He was ousted in 1968. . . . Incidentally, the great lost Inca city of **Machu Picchu**, one of Peru's outstanding tourist attractions, was discovered by an amateur archeologist from Connecticut, **Hiram Bingham**, grandfather of the missing **George Jackson** lawyer.

■ Rep. **William Scherle** (R., Iowa)—he discovered the federally financed $750 poem "lighght"—has come up with another bureaucratic beauty, an instruction by the **Postal Service** to employees applying for end-of-service awards that they should put in their "requests for the awards three weeks prior to death or retirement."

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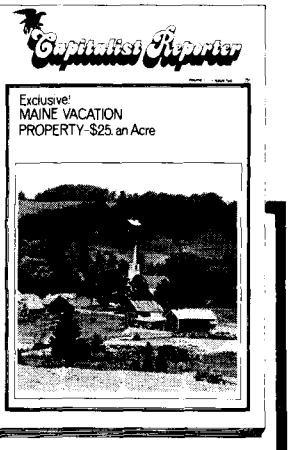
MONEY!



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Where to buy luxury cars in Europe (Mercedes, Jaguars, etc.) at discount prices... how to curse thieving, insolent natives in their own language...where to pack your kids off to a ranch for summer work...which airport duty-free shops offer authentic bargains (e.g. Amsterdam) and which are best avoided (e.g. Shannon)...wallow in luxury behind the Iron Curtain (like a Capitalist pig?) for under $10 a day...buy your own crumbling though habitable castle in Spain for about $5000...deal in black market currency...finance a trip to Hungary on Wilkinson razor blades...etc. Every month, in **The Capitalist Reporter.**

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Why do most businesses fold within a year or two? Mostly, a lack of know-how—tricks-of-the-trade you only gain from experience. If you dream of starting your own thing, **The Capitalist Reporter** can help: (1) We look for the ideas whose times have come. New concepts at the start of their climb. Business opportunities you can enter on the ground floor—often with under $2000 capital. (Usually, starting in your spare time—without giving up the security of your present job.) (2) We back up our information with actual case histories. From these people—who are actually making it—you learn the techniques & shortcuts that make the difference between success & failure. Profit from their experience!

Far Out

Something in every issue to make you a living legend within your own family. e.g. Suppose you crave a race horse. (Fool!) *How* do you buy...find the best prices? Picking a trainer? (How can *he* give *you* a memorable shafting?) Cost of maintaining your beast? Entering him in races? Stud fees? Sex handicaps? Race track shady practices? Suppose your hayburner develops arthritis. Then what??!! Also—Investing in Broadway shows; Hunting for Blackbeard's treasure; Buying your own authentic ghost town.

Insider

Imagine you own stock in a company. And you learn that several of the officers & principals are selling off a substantial portion of their shares. Wouldn't you ask, "WHY?" Perhaps you, too, should jump clear—they might know something you don't. (It would be equally significant, naturally, if they are buying *into* the company.) **The Capitalist Reporter** brings you late news of key insider trading. Draw your own conclusions. Just remember: Watch what they do—not what they say.

Japan

New products, processes, rock-solid currency, galloping GNP—how can *you* profit from Japan's booming prosperity? Each month, **The Capitalist Reporter** examines our busy little friends across the ocean—*with information that makes you money:* Stock market news (how about playing the incredible Tokyo market?)...new product information (long before they appear in the U.S.)...and other invaluable Nipponalia. Most Americans are appallingly ignorant about Japanese business—and you can't make money from something you know little about. This information is worth money in the bank.

Nostalgia

American treasures are all around you—attic, church bazaar, house-wrecking yards, thrift shops, etc. Old bottles, obsolete fishing lures, pre-war comics, vintage railroad timetables, auto repair manuals, posters (war, movies, advertising), telephone insulators, stuffed birds, old children's books, etc. Their value? $5, $10, even $100 and more. Americana/memorabilia soars in value as much as 200% a year. We give authoritative, up-to-date information on hundreds upon *hundreds* of specifics to be found in every town in America: Where to look...what to pay...hot new items...how to *anticipate* future trends...names & addresses of people who buy *everything*, from old mousetraps to dirigibles to used electric chairs. We'll even show you how to conduct garage sales—make $200 to $300 a week in your spare time.

Bargains

How to obtain free traveller's checks ($100 [illegible] buys $100)...factory-fresh clothing & merchandise for a small fraction of list price...pick up name-brand furniture & appliances *wholesale*...*free* government services...and government surplus for a few pennies on the dollar (a jeep? your own Sherman tank?)...insurance for ⅓ of what you are now probably paying...launch suits and register companies all by yourself (save vast legal fees)...etc. Original material!

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THE WEEK

■ Let's face it. There's something unsatisfactory about an election in which there is only one candidate, and so we hope that U Thant will instantly urge fair and unrigged elections in Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Greece, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Libya, Malawi, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Yemen, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Ukraine SSR, USSR, United Arab Republic, Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Qatar. Don't forget Qatar, U.

■ They *could* do it themselves, mind you—"We have much experience in making not only trucks, but vehicles that can crawl around the moon." But the Russians (just to be nice?) are going to let Mack Truck help them design, build and equip an enormous truck manufacturing plant, at a cost of around $750 million. Last year Ford Motor was all set to go on the same deal, until protests from the public and the Defense Department made them retire. This time around there were more noises from the Pentagon, but the White House went ahead and gave its approval. Comes now Young Americans for Freedom, which finds that the truck plant would "substantially aid the Communist government strategically, financially and industrially," and would "permit the Soviet economic planners to divert substantial resources to other economic and military endeavors." YAF will put pressure on Mack —through boycotts, picketing, public-information campaigns—to drop the deal. Similar tactics by YAF in the past have helped make such industrial giants as Ford, American Motors and Firestone Rubber reconsider the wisdom of trading with the enemy.

■ The Dean of Admissions and Financial Aid at the University of Pennsylvania has resigned, apparently because of the political direction in which he sees the University heading. The University has announced a cutback in financial aid for next year as well as an increase in the number of freshmen. Said the Dean: "The financial crisis we face now means that the more academically conservative faculty emerges in governance roles, and that has brought about a change in terms of the University's regard for social problems in America."

■ The Institute for Strategic Studies, a highly regarded organization based in London, has added its testimony to other hard evidence of Soviet strategic advance. The Institute reports that the USSR now deploys 45 per cent more ICBMs than the U.S., 1,510 to 1,054. In addition, the Soviets are rapidly eliminating the U.S. lead in underwater launch-capacity. The U.S. deploys 41 nuclear-powered subs carrying 656 sub-launched ballistic missiles. The Soviet has twenty new nuclear subs carrying 440 SLBMs, and is building seven or eight new subs per year. By 1974 the U.S. submarine lead will cease to exist if these figures are projected.

■ At YAF's convention in Houston New York's Senator James Buckley made a speech about New York's Mayor John Lindsay, detailing some of the things Lindsay can take credit for. Under the Lindsay reign: New York's welfare rolls have more than doubled, to 1.2 million people, or one out of seven New Yorkers; the City's expenditures rose 100 per cent, which Lindsay financed by raising taxes on everything from beer to stock transfers and putting a tax on hot dogs; and, finally, joining welfare and taxes, crime in New York in 1971 is going to be an all-time record.

■ Near the end of August the *New York Times* had an article about the Army's efforts "to make military life a more appealing and satisfying experience." Thus in certain "New Army" bases beer is allowed in the barracks, civilians do KP and basic training is no longer torturous. But early in September the *Times* had another article, this one entitled "Army Is Shaken by Crisis in Morale and Discipline." The story told of high desertion rates, drug abuse and racial incidents. In 1970 in Vietnam there were 271 "fraggings," a grenade tossed into the bunk of a superior officer by one of his dissatisfied men. The number of these fraggings is expected to rise to 425 in 1971. But the article ends on a happy note: In Fort Carson, Colorado, a "New Army" base, morale is so high that men are re-enlisting at double the rate of the old-fashioned bases. The article doesn't say whether this is due to the new technique or because the men at Fort Carson find it such a soft touch. In the month of August there was $22,000 stolen in 173 thefts. Beetle Bailey, where are you?

■ In a speech sharply critical of the Administration's Mideast policy—which he accused of "having helped make the Soviet Union the major Middle Eastern power" —Senator (and Presidential candidate) Henry M. Jackson stated that there are now more than three hundred Soviet-supplied supersonic military aircraft in Egypt, two hundred Soviet pilots on permanent station, and about a hundred Soviet officers of general/admiral rank. Sources close to the Pentagon say that Senator Jackson's figures are actually outdated, and that over a hundred more advanced-model MiGs are now at Egyptian bases.

■ The headline reports that the CIA has finally "admitted" that it is maintaining an army in Laos composed mostly of Laotian and Thai volunteer troops, most of them trained by the CIA. You can imagine the storm in

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the Senate. The report also said, and you may not have heard this part, that China is building a road across northern Laos and that it now has 395 antiaircraft guns in place around it; that Chinese troop concentrations in northern Laos have gone from six thousand to twenty thousand in two years, that "the practical effect of the Chinese road is that the Chinese border has already been shifted southward to encompass a substantial portion of northern Laos." You can imagine the storm that *wasn't* raised in the Senate about that.

■ At the Pan American Games in Cali, Colombia the Cubans were the team to watch—on the field and off. The Cubans did their relaxing with a kidnaping and a few brawls, one among themselves. Fidel didn't mind these, he knows what pressure can do. But he can't be happy about the three defections and the suicide. When a masseur of the Cuban team fell to his death, first reports said he committed suicide as a protest against Castro. A Cuban press official denied this and noted that rooftops are "dangerous." The press official also had a ready explanation for the defections. They weren't defections, they were kidnapings and the group responsible was "the American CIA."

■ U.S. ping-pongers go to Red China, Richard Nixon goes to Red China, and Red China may go to the UN. Well, the Tainan Giants, a baseball team from Nationalist China, knowing what a sports fan Mr. Nixon is, went to Williamsport, Pa. and won the Little League World Series. The only trouble occurred off the field—a fight broke out between two factions of Chinese-American spectators, those born in Taiwan and those born in mainland China.

■ We've heard of guys leaving their gals holding the bag, but . . . Two touring lasses, one Dutch, the other Peruvian, are asked by their Arab boyfriends in Europe to take suitcases on board two El Al Israeli airliners, the suitcases purportedly carrying gifts for the boys' relatives in the Middle East. In fact, examiners discovered that they contained explosives intended to blow up the planes in flight—and undoubtedly the Arabs' girlfriends as well. That's what *we* call a Dear John letter.

Tit Willow

Prime Minister Sato, I wish you would stop
  Incessantly singing *Tit Willow*.
You mustn't consider your Party a flop,
  Or weep on your exquisite pillow.
Try not to go crackers or call in a shrink;
So? Nixon's diplomacy's raising a stink?
Just tell him, "It takes two to tango, you fink."
  Then see who'll be singing *Tit Willow*.

W. H. VON DREELE

■ The headline reads: "South Carolina Poll Rates Muskie First and Lindsay Second" (*New York Times*, August 29). The story? "A Presidential preference poll among South Carolina county officials has shown surprising strength for Mayor Lindsay of New York. Among Democrats, Mr. Lindsay received 27 votes, second only to the 36 votes for Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine. President Nixon led all candidates with 57 votes."

■ Concerned citizens all: A rally to protest the killing of George Jackson in New York's Queens County last week was sponsored by: the Southeast Queens Committee To Free Angela Davis, the Committee To Defend the St. Albans Three, the Committee To Defend the Quincy (Florida) Five, the Queens House of Detention Eight, the Women's Bail Fund and the Committee To Defend the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, among others.

■ "In Western terms, [China] is a dictatorship which allows and even encourages dissent within but not against [sic] the policies of the government," James Reston informs us. And what is China in Restonian terms? ". . . a stable government, based on the moral authority of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the power of the People's Liberation Army and the experience and skill of Premier Chou En-lai."

■ According to a new book by a Norwegian journalist, *Go-Between in Moscow*, Sweden had as much to do with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's not accepting the Nobel Prize as the USSR did. Per Egil Hegge, a friend of Solzhenitsyn's, says that the Swedish government could have arranged, through its Moscow embassy, to give Solzhenitsyn the prize without his leaving the country, but they refused to do so because they regarded the choice of a man who did not get on with the Soviet government a diplomatic embarrassment. Hegge reports that an embassy spokesman told him: "We are here to maintain good relations with the Soviet state officials. A ceremony in honor of an author who is being increasingly criticized, with the authorities' obvious approval, is problematical." Furthermore, Solzhenitsyn had thought it would be possible to write his speech accepting the prize, and transmit it to Stockholm via diplomatic pouch for publication, even though he would not be able to read it formally. However, Hegge insists, Solzhenitsyn decided not to bother writing it when the ambassador, Gunnar Jarring, indicated that he would be unwilling to use diplomatic privileges for Solzhenitsyn's benefit.

■ Luv them kounterkulture kiddie kapers! Abbie Hoffman wrote a book entitled *Steal This Book!*, all about how to make bombs, kill policemen, start riots and (especially) live for free in "Amerika" by stealing food, clothes, telephone calls, airplane rides, everything. No straight publisher would touch it, so Abbie formed Pirate Editions to put it out. Few bookstores, straight or other,

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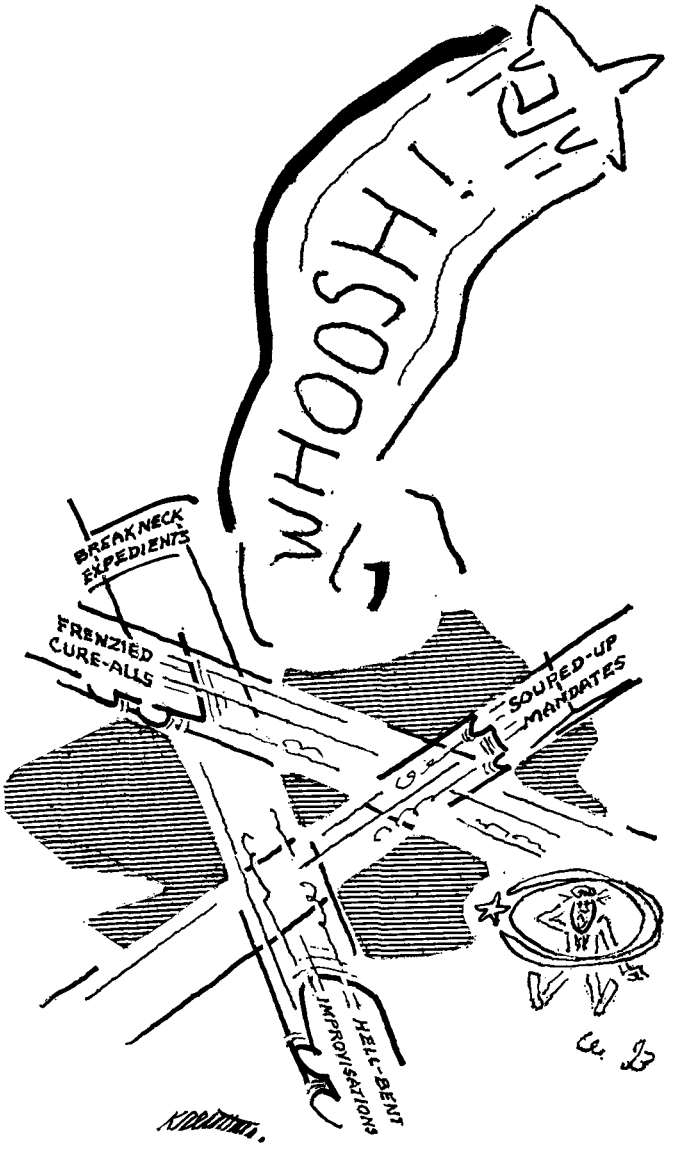
will stock the book, despite which it's sold (?) about 125,000 copies. Under his contract with his own company, Abbie gets 77.5 per cent of the royalties as author, plus 6 per cent as publisher (the rest goes to his lawyer, Gerald Lefcourt, and to the distributor, good old Grove Press). And to make it just perfect, it seems Abbie STOLE *Steal This Book!* One Tom Forcade claims to have edited the manuscript and arranged for the printing and distribution, for which he says Hoffman owes him $8,000. He's suing. Another ex-friend, Izak Haber, says he did 90 per cent of the research and wrote the seven hundred-page manuscript that Hoffman whittled down to the published version; *he's* going to tell all in the next *Rolling Stone*. Hoffman's not dishonest—he's just a kreative kapitalist.

■ The Advantages of Being Galbraith during the Hoaxing Season. —From *Time* Magazine, commenting on *A History of the Modern Age* (Doubleday), allegedly the manuscript of a deceased former Under Secretary of Political Affairs (who never existed), pieced together by a Massachusetts historian (who doesn't exist): ". . . a fascinating chronicle of the cold war, valid in essence perhaps, fictional and caricatural in detail. It is a grand and eloquent hoax full of enigmatic private jokes. . . . Could it be the midnight penman [is] John Kenneth Galbraith?"



"As I was saying, Progress must come before Order —I think."

Nixon Questions

In the fall of 1966, Lyndon Johnson journeyed to Manila for a ballyhooed conference with South Vietnamese leaders for the purpose, manifestly, of influencing the voting in the congressional elections that year in the U.S. He issued the customary communiqué and returned expecting universal applause. Richard Nixon, however, after studying the communiqué, publicly asked some hard questions about it. Instead of returning for a triumphal tour of the country, Johnson declared a health problem and retired for a while to his Texas ranch. Some historians date Johnson's political decline from the issuing of Nixon's tough "Manila Questions."

Now, however, Nixon's own policies also raise hard questions, and the hardest ones are of a long-range character. Their answers cannot be foreseen, but necessarily they will be fateful.

First, where the China policy is concerned, questions arise about the making of foreign policy under democratic circumstances. A traditional diplomatic diplomacy à la Metternich can be conducted largely in isolation from public opinion; so can modern totalitarian diplomacy. Under both autocratic forms of government, the measures necessary to maintain national strength can be taken even as the diplomats smile and occupy changing positions in the balance of power. It is not now clear that this can happen in a democracy. For two decades presented to the public—accurately enough—as a monstrous tyranny erected on the corpses of tens of millions, China is now being sentimentalized out of recognition by the media and by reporters who should know better. Tomorrow, given the necessities of balance-of-power politics and the murky shifts characteristic of totalitarian politics, the present thaw—if it is one—will almost certainly refreeze. Yet in the face of these shifts, will public opinion support the steadiness of purpose and the kind of preparedness necessary to sustain our national interest? In Vietnam we in fact went to war, but, psychologically speaking, fought without enemies. Will Nixon's diplomacy, whatever its limited rationale, lead the public to believe that it lives in a world without enemies?

Second, the Administration's economic policies raise questions similarly related to the democratic circumstance. Two propositions will now be generally agreed upon: a) that for two and one-half years the Administration has endeavored to set the nation's house in order

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more or less in accordance with the maxims of orthodox economic theory, but b) that the results appeared too slowly to suit the expectations of the electorate or the timing of the electoral process. On July 26, none other than Milton Friedman was writing in terms unusually euphoric for him: The Nixon "policy has worked. Inflation has slowed, although less than all desired and many expected. There was a recession—but it was one of the mildest in U.S. history. The recession is now over and the economy is expanding. The expansion, like the recession, is moderate, but it is solid and widely based. Moreover, moderation is desirable so that continued tapering off of inflation can go along with reduced unemployment. As Mr. Schultz said, what we now need to complete the treatment is 'time and the guts to take the time, not additional medicine.' "

Three weeks later Nixon junked the policy. All the political indices were down. The Democrats had dropped the War as an issue and were bellowing about the Economy. The polls showed that on economic matters Democrats were preferred to Republicans by a two-to-one margin. Nixon faced the hard choice between political disaster and "doing something."

And so the long-range questions arise. Can orthodox economic solutions really be applied under democratic conditions? If the answer to that question is no, or else hardly ever, then where does that leave us?

And third, for now, what ultimately is the Administration's policy on the complex of questions raised by racial integration and currently crystallized in the quarrels over busing? So far the Nixon Administration appears to have done little more than bend to the various pressures set up by court decrees variously worded and interpreted, by plans drawn up by the zealous exegetes at HEW, and by a general public either sullenly acquiescent or openly rebellious.

Historically the American experience has indicated that ethnic integration takes place more easily and more profitably at the upper educational and economic levels. Does the Administration mean to pursue, or even acquiesce in, policies designed to force integration, by busing or other means, where it is not desired and where it manifestly damages the educational atmosphere? And if that is not the intention of the Nixon Administration, well, then, what *is* its intention?

An NEP of a Different Color

The first author of a New Economic Policy (NEP) was of course Vladimir Lenin. Exactly fifty years ago the leaders of Soviet Russia faced the hazards of a seriously sick and shaken economy, a condition they recognized as having been brought about in no small part by excessive and ill-conceived government intervention. The essence of the first New Economic Policy was its acknowledgement that the impersonal forces of the marketplace could do a better job than bureaucrats in Moscow in setting prices and allocating resources. Most farmers and small businesses, as well as many industries, were freed from government control; free-market prices were used to distribute supplies.

The origins of Richard Nixon's New Economic Policy, like Lenin's first NEP, are rooted in the foibles of government, as Alan Reynold's article in this issue makes clear. Recall that in 1921 it was the Soviet government's confiscation of the peasants' harvest surplus above a minimum (and arbitrary) sustenance level, along with other policies, that threatened to wreck the economy. In this country the average real spendable earnings for a family of four, after adjustment for inflation and taxes, declined $1 between 1965 and 1970. It is easy, and can be highly misleading, to carry the parallel much further. Our point is that in certain important respects the origins of the Soviet dilemma in 1921 and the American dilemma in 1971 are similar. The responses by the respective governments are not.

There is only one common denominator in President Nixon's grab-bag of actions which constitute his New Economic Policy: motion. Taken as a whole, the President's proposals constitute as pure an example as this country has ever seen of Do Something! economics. There is something for everyone: free trader, protectionist, Keynesian, monetarist, businessman and consumer. And since there is something for everyone, the policy, in a strict economic sense, has little operational thrust. Perhaps there are some who will be reassured by all the rhetoric and motion, and that crucial, elusive factor of "confidence" will return and spark a general healthy economic upturn. But some of us are prone to motion sickness.

The President ended his address introducing NEP 1971 with a rousing appeal to America's competitive spirit. "Every action . . . is designed to nurture and stimulate that competitive spirit." This after announcing a 10 per cent surcharge on imports and the imposition of a complete wage-price-rent freeze, coupled with thinly veiled warnings about higher dividends and interest rates.

For Your Consideration

Okay, let's say you got the shaft
When Eisenhower scuttled Taft.
Let's say your head began to whirl
When Ike appointed Awful Earl.
Presumably you saw a crack
When LBJ succeeded Jack;
You had no inkling that he'd swing
With Dr. Martin Luther King.
Now (moving right along) you're sick
Because you're up to here with Dick.
You got a pencil? Here's the scoop:
Next time, support a pressure group.

W. H. VON DREELE

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Perhaps if Nixon and Lenin exchanged either their policies or their speeches, words and actions would jibe. At any rate, we think whoever christened NEP 1971 was either woefully ignorant of NEP 1921—or possessed a fine sense of irony.

The Complicated Desires of George Meany

What do you call a man who on Saturday calls for wage and price controls, on Sunday gets them from the White House and on Monday denounces them? And who *then* says: "It is difficult, indeed, to repose confidence in a President who changes course 180 degrees"? And then says that *he* has not changed *his* position? Answer, of course: a politician; which George Meany certainly is.

He is certainly enough of a politician to have a way out of the charge of inconsistency: The controls he has been calling for, you see, were controls which would have everyone sacrifice equally; whereas what the President proposed will lay the entire burden on the workers covered by highly visible collective bargaining contracts. Mr. Meany is also enough of a politician to indicate lukewarm support of the President's program in order to get back "in step with the desires [if not the needs] of America's working men and women," out of step with which he had so obviously, and not surprisingly, fallen. Democratic politicians, himself included, had been telling the people for months—years—that wage and price controls were necessary; and George Gallup was able to report on August 29 that the overwhelming majority of union members supported the President's program.

Mr. Meany said he could accept a voluntary system of economic controls "if we had a part in setting it up, drawing the ground rules and we agreed. . . ." (Catch his commitment: if he agrees, he'll accept.) Before the ninety-day period is up the forces of labor can be expected to blitz Congress in order to obtain "equality of sacrifice" in any economic program. Except, that is, in one. There have been proposals that the antitrust laws be overhauled. Serious consideration of including labor within the purview of antitrust law would bring a roar from George Meany which would make his present outbursts seem mere whispers. And a campaign by labor for inequality for the likes of which the history of this country affords no suggestions.

Bella Abzug as Johnny Reb

I knew we should have dumped her
Before she did her thing.
She thinks she's at Fort Sumter
About to pull the string.

W. H. VON DREELE

The Welfare Front

"Those who oppose welfare reform," noted Governor Ronald Reagan recently, "say that welfare fraud amounts to only 1 or 2 per cent of the total number of cases. The facts are that no one really knows. . . ." Well, we are beginning to get some indications, if not yet quite to know, and events in New York recently tended to confirm Reagan's strong suspicion that fraud far exceeds that 1 or 2 per cent.

According to one provision of Governor Rockefeller's new welfare legislation, welfare recipients, as of July 1, were required to pick up their checks twice a month at a New York State Employment Service office, at which time employability was to be assessed, and, perhaps, job referrals made. The law also provided that if the recipient did not show up on the assigned day he would be deemed "not in compliance." After two days the check would go back to the welfare center and an investigation would begin. During July some 18 per cent of welfare clients failed to pick up their checks; in the succeeding semimonthly cycles the figure has risen to 22.1 per cent.

Meanwhile, a study supervised by Dr. Blanche Bernstein, research director for the Center for New York City Affairs at the New School for Social Research, indicated that in New York City alone some sixty thousand ineligible people were receiving welfare during 1969. The study also noted that New York's high welfare payments had "an adverse impact on the incentive to work," though "thousands of jobs suitable to the skills of those on welfare were available."

In the statement quoted earlier, Governor Reagan continued: "No one really knows how many people in the United States are receiving welfare. We know how many checks are mailed out but we do not know how many individuals are getting several checks under different names, in the same community, in the same state, or even whether they are receiving several checks from several states. . . ."

Harassment! yelled the welfare Establishment over the requirement in New York that checks be picked up in person rather than received through the mail. Litigation is in the offing on this point. In addition, a federal court in Buffalo has knocked out at least temporarily the one-year residency requirement in Rockefeller's program. And in Providence, R.I., the fifth annual convention of the National Welfare Rights Organization, which has 120,000 members, made plans to put together a broad front of like-minded organizations, run welfare recipients for Congress, put pressure on legislators, escalate the benefits projected under Nixon's FAP and so on. "Right on!" the convention was told in speeches by George McGovern, Bella Abzug and Ronald Dellums.

Meanwhile, in a move related to President Nixon's economic policies, the Administration has requested that action on FAP be deferred until next year. Now next year, as it happens, is an election year. And in that

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

House Speaker Carl Albert and Majority Leader Hale Boggs face a challenge to their leadership that may result in major changes in the House hierarchy in 1973. Long an erratic performer off the House floor, Boggs has maintained his position in the Democratic hierarchy by a canny knowledge of who and where his enemies are. Albert, on the other hand, has gained power by hewing to a middle course that avoids making enemies in any quarter.

The most likely—in fact, about the only—challenger to either Albert or Boggs is Richard Bolling of Missouri. Bolling would hardly be a factor in 1973 if Wilbur Mills had not been making Presidential noises that many take to be a bid for the House Speakership. Few House members believe that Mills can be denied the Speakership if he wants it. Albert's position is thought by some to be tenuous. It will not be helped by a recent ADA attack on his Vietnam voting record, the essence of which was that a Democratic Speaker should be in greater accord with his party's left wing. Albert is a realist, and the next few months will probably see him shoring up his left front.

■ Sources close to Spiro Agnew report that one of the things that annoys the Vice President most is news accounts of "what he is purported to be thinking." Agnew is a man who speaks his mind. "If the Vice President is thinking something the public knows about it pretty quickly," a friend says. Agnew's relations with President Nixon have improved because of attacks on Agnew in the press. President Nixon remembers the dump-Nixon efforts of 1956 and sympathizes with Agnew's position.

■ As a Presidential candidate, Senator Fred Harris (D., Okla.) is finding few takers. Democratic oddsmakers report that the Harris campaign is faltering badly, because Harris has failed to ignite any sparks in the South, where he had hoped to forge a black-white alliance. "The blacks aren't buying Harris as a white man, and the whites don't like his appeal to the blacks," reports an observer from North Carolina.

Harris is also having trouble shaking any of the support beginning to cluster around George McGovern (D., S.D.), whose campaign is picking up. One factor in Harris' strategy was picking up the pieces from a faltering McGovern. But he hasn't faltered, and McGovern has landed important endorsements in New York and elsewhere. Also, McGovern, more than Harris, has benefited from the withdrawal of Iowa's Harold Hughes, and Harris is being looked on more and more as a lame-duck senator in search of a job.

■ As Congress returns from its recess, the focus will be the wage and price freeze. Organized labor is expected to mount a challenge in Congress as well as the courts. The President also faces a dilemma on the draft extension and military pay increase bill. While the pay increase would break the wage-price freeze, the President needs the draft extension and may be forced to work out an unsatisfactory compromise.

The President will almost certainly be forced by the House Ways and Means Committee into making his proposed $50 increase in the individual tax exemption retroactive to January 1, 1971, rather than effective on January 1, 1972. The move to make the exemption boost retroactive is favored by many congressmen looking ahead to a 1972 campaign with a record of relief to harried taxpayers. And the President would find it politically impossible to veto.

—CATO

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election year one of the major issues is certain to be the soaring cost of welfare. If it backs the fabulously expensive FAP, the Administration will be placing itself on the wrong side of that issue. And so, may we hope, action on FAP will again be deferred . . . and deferred . . . and then the thing will just fade away?

How Goldwater Sees It

Barry M. Goldwater recently reminded his Senate colleagues that they have in fact been intimately involved in the making of foreign policy. "It would be a malicious falsehood to use the tragedy of Vietnam as the fulcrum of a war against the Executive by a Congress which was wholly involved in the policies it now questions," Mr. Goldwater warned in a speech on the Senate floor, the occasion for which was debate on certain "war power bills" designed to limit the President's authority. These bills, Goldwater advised, "would confound our allies, encourage our enemies, upset the long-standing constitutional arrangements between the Executive and Congress, and incite one of the gravest constitutional crises in all of American history.

"Congress is and has been involved up to its ears with the war in Southeast Asia. It has known what has been going on from the start and has given its approval in advance to almost everything that has occurred there," as evidence for which he adduced the 1955 Senate Committee report on the SEATO Treaty; former Foreign Relations Committee Chairman George's 1955 speech on the preservation of Southeast Asian freedom and independence; various military appropriations actions by Congress; the Tonkin Gulf resolution; and on and on in action after action of Congress over the last several years.

"These congressional actions were taken thoughtfully and after a full explanation of all the implications involved," Senator Goldwater concluded. "No one can now claim innocence of what he was voting about. . . . [T]he Vietnam experience in no way gives cause for hamstringing the President's power of action to defend American interests. . . . [The war powers bills] rest upon nothing more than the flimsy reed of emotionalism, a callous exploitation of the public's longing for peace and calm. The truth is nearly every one of the politicians and news writers who are hoisting the banner of 'no more Vietnams' has known about or has been personally involved in all the currents of basic national policy with respect to Southeast Asia."

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Shortly after delivering this Senate speech on the powers of the Presidency, Senator Goldwater spoke in Massachusetts on the current holder of that office. While acknowledging his concern about the President's New Economic Policy, which concern he urged conservatives to "choke back," Mr. Goldwater discovered a silver lining in Mr. Nixon's overtures to Red China. Goldwater explained that Nixon had "not deserted our friends on Taiwan," and he found no fault with the coming Peking trek "if it is not blown out of all proportions by wishful thinkers who would like us to believe that all Communist nations . . . would just love to live in peaceful coexistence with the United States if we would get over our alleged militarism." The Arizona Senator stated categorically that Governor Ronald Reagan would not oppose President Nixon for the Presidential nomination, and he told conservatives who are "entirely dissatisfied with President Nixon": "Let me ask you what you have to offer in his place."

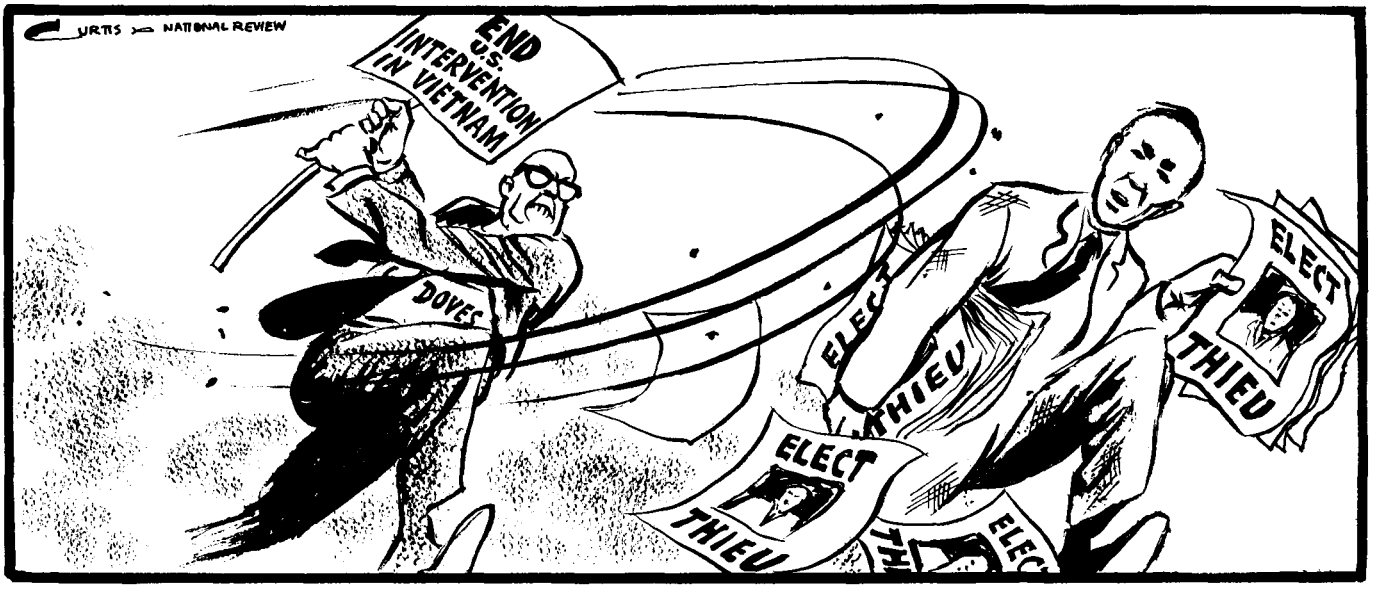
Fissures in the Other Wall

Speaking in West Berlin in February 1969, President Nixon said that the crisis potential in that city cried for negotiations. Five months later, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko responded to Nixon's overture, and in March 1970 Big Power talks began, their chances for accomplishment greatly enhanced by West German Chancellor Willy Brandt's policy of reconciliation with East Europe. Now the Berlin accord has been signed. The agreement grants West Berlin less-impeded access routes from West Germany to the city and permits West Berliners to visit East Berlin and East Germany with no more restrictions placed on them than on non-Germans. In effect it codifies and consolidates the status quo of an island of freedom 110 miles within Communist territory, a presence Moscow has been trying to alter for more than twenty years. The Soviets agree to a significant West German governmental presence in Berlin and recognize that Bonn represents West Berliners abroad.

For its part, East Germany gains tacit acknowledgement of her legitimacy as a separate state, this through the use in the accord of the formal name "German Democratic Republic." Furthermore, the possibility of both Germanies gaining United Nations membership is enhanced by the agreement; such membership would be another sign of recognition of East Germany by the Western powers.

In one sense, the accord is really between West Germany and Russia, in that the claims of Bonn to sovereignty over West Berlin are more specifically recognized by the Soviet Union than ever before, while the Germans grant Russia the right to establish a consulate in West Berlin. But in a larger sense, the accord represents a significant granting of concessions by Moscow to the West. The Russians have been concerned with Red China for years; Mr. Nixon's overtures to Peking have intensified their anxiety. Desiring now to secure its western flank, the USSR is suddenly anxious to ease tensions with Western Europe, West Germany included. Russia would like to be able to cut her forces in Europe. Burying some old bones of contention helps make this a more likely possibility.

In addition to this Russian desire for MBFR (mutual and balanced force reductions), Moscow is anxious for an all-European security conference. Party boss Leonid Brezhnev travels to Paris in October for talks with President Georges Pompidou; with the Berlin accord freshly signed, the climate of opinion for an all-European conference will be more favorable. The Berlin accord may well begin a chain reaction of diplomatic activity to further an East-West détente in Europe. The United States, speaking through Secretary of State William P. Rogers,



"Inscrutable Americans"

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is evidently pleased: "We have indicated a willingness to talk about mutual and balanced force reductions, and we have indicated that once there is a satisfactory solution to the problem of Berlin, we and our NATO allies would be willing to take part in a European security conference."

No More Saviors

The problem, everyone is coming to realize, is not to solve the Urban Crisis; the most anyone can be expected to do is to cope with it effectively enough to keep chaos at bay for another week or two. A couple of years back we surveyed the mess John Lindsay had made of New York City and suggested that perhaps the Old Politics of power, interest-juggling, and general horse-trading had done more to keep the city "alive and breathing" than the reformist New Politics of wish and wait. Lindsay was elected in 1965 because, face it, the electorate believed an impossible thing: that he would (could!) solve the city's problems. Immediately on taking office, he dealt with a threatened subway strike by announcing that it could not be permitted to occur. Of course it occurred anyway, and from there on it was downhill all the way, with Lindsay deploring every new disaster. So bad had things become by 1969 that the voters, in a kamikaze gesture of despair, re-elected him.

At last the tide begins to turn. As cities decay under the likes of Lindsay and Cleveland's Carl Stokes, Americans look to the Chicago of Mayor Richard Daley—Old Politics incarnate. While the difficulties of New York and Chicago are, objectively viewed, roughly comparable, there is a feeling that somehow Chicago still *works*. Daley knows how to deal with the unions, the bankers and businessmen and—via a smoothly running political machine—with the little people. (If your garbage isn't picked up in New York, you fume and your ulcer gets a little bigger. In Chicago, you call your precinct captain or the boss of your ward—and no more garbage.) To be sure, Chicago schools are as bad as, maybe worse than, New York's. Racial tension abounds in both cities; the white middle class is fleeing to the suburbs from both; both are saddled with burgeoning welfare populations. Nevertheless, in Chicago, there still exists a commodity that in happier days was the chief stock-in-trade of the Lindsays: "hope."

Now there is a resurgence of Chicago-style politics in other cities. Newark's black mayor, Kenneth Gibson, finally managed to work out a settlement between angry white teachers and an angry black school board. Right in New York City, Charles Rangel unseated the charismatic Adam Clayton Powell by building up, over years and years of hard work, a thoroughly old-fashioned political machine that serves the needs of the people of Harlem. Philadelphia Democrats last summer nominated Frank Rizzo, an un-chic "tough cop" for mayor. Liberals predict that if elected Rizzo will try only to keep the blacks under control; that would be as much as evasion of the city's real problems as Lindsay's. But perhaps Rizzo's years as a policeman have given him the open-eyed realism to understand and deal with the conflicting interests that make up his city.

Too often, it is now clear, "reform" in municipal government is purely a matter of rhetoric, with no action to back up the words. The work of keeping things going seems best left to less idealistic, more practical men. Carl Stokes, a disillusioned idealist, has been quoted as saying that the greatest burden the Negro—for whom it might be better to substitute "the American city-dweller"—has to bear is living under "good government" in the cities. Perhaps it's time to throw the rascals back in.

Vatican II Revisited

In case you missed it, James Hitchcock of the St. Louis University history department announced in *Commonweal* last spring that "Aggiornamento Has Failed." In a long piece, Hitchcock marvels at the fact that "so few progressives have noticed the extent to which the reactionaries' predictions prior to the Council have been proven correct and that their own expectations have been contradicted. . . . Yet the progressives' hope for 'renewal' now seems largely chimeric, a grandiose expectation, an attractive theory, but one which has failed of achievement. In the heady days of the Council it was common to hear predictions that the conciliar reforms would lead to a massive resurgence of the flagging Catholic spirit. Laymen would be stirred from their apathy and alienation and would join enthusiastically in apostolic projects. Liturgy and theology, having been brought to life and made relevant, would be constant sources of inspiration to the faithful. The religious orders, reformed to bring them into line with modernity, would find themselves overwhelmed with candidates who were generous and enthusiastic. The Church would find the number of converts increasing dramatically as it cast off its moribund visage and indeed would come to be respected and influential in worldly circles as it had not been for centuries. In virtually every case the precise opposite of these predictions has come to pass."

Will Rosemary Reuther, Dan Callahan and Robert Hoyt now please say a few words.

Just the News, Please

What happened was, the *New York Times* somehow got, and front-paged, information about the U.S. position and tactics in a coming round of the SALT talks. The release of such information is, obviously, a breach of national security. The question: Did someone deliberately leak it, or did it—as often happens—sort of ooze out? The FBI ventured to find out. After routine inquiries in several government departments, and a few polygraph

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tests, the ooze-out explanation seemed the best guess.

And that would have been that—except one of the departments visited by the FBI was State. So early on in its story, the *Times* went out of its way to report: "The questioning by FBI agents and the reported use of lie-detectors have touched sensitive nerves in the State Department, where, officials say, the Bureau has not been active since it investigated charges of Communist infiltration raised by the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. . . ." Said the *Washington Post*: "This is the first time since the era of the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy in the early 1950s that such a practice in the State Department has come to public attention. Many State Department officials are themselves concerned about the intimidating effect of the procedure, and insist it is limited and is no revival of that inquisitional period in U.S. history." The *Times*' lead editorial a few days later began: "For the first time since the heyday of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy . . ."

Given that there was evidence to suggest that a crime —breach of security—had been committed; that State was only one of a number of departments in which questions were asked; that the polygraph tests were few and voluntary (and resulted in the clearing of the persons questioned), the repeated references to McCarthyism seem at first glance meaningless.

Or are the *Times* and *Post* miffed for another reason? The former reported, in the paragraph immediately following the one quoted above: "In recent weeks newsmen who report on the State Department have found that people there would not see them or answer their telephone calls." State's press spokesman, Robert McCloskey, says employees "need not close doors or refuse to return phone calls because a subject for a period may be off limits for general distribution." One wonders if some leaks are drying up.

Notes & Asides

■ Bill: Important. In the next Notes and Asides, you should mention something to the effect that we have put forward the date on the cover of the magazine at the request of our West Coast distributors and that we are doing the same, to conform, on the *Bulletin*. Reason why it's important? One minute from now, all the librarians in America are going to start to write in and ask what happened to the Sept. 7 magazine (even though they have the Sept. 10 in their stacks). —PLB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Den mother says I cant wear my cub scout uniform until I tie my shoe laces good and I try very hard but they keep coming apart and she reads Mr. Von Dreeles poems to us and she is crazy for you and will you please write in your magazine that you think it is okay for cub scouts to wear loafers.

Your very very very very good friend.

Tommy Timmy Fanin
Den 145
Brooklyn, 11215

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: May I opine my thoughts on the Washington press—by means of an allegorical tale: It seems as though some of the press started spreading the story that "reliable sources" had overheard the President categorically state that he could if he so willed walk on water. Well the press beat on that one for a week touting the statement in articles which had nothing to do with the President and demanding that he satisfy the demands of THE COALITION TO STOP WATER WALKING, that he prove his assertion. The White House issued denial after denial saying that the President could not walk on water and was not in fact even a very good swimmer, and had never said he could. These statements were pointedly ignored and the drum-fire of "prove it" rose in intensity. The papers were full of pictures of the COALITION at work in their office mailing out flyers and making up posters for the big rally with which they were were going to put a stop once and for all to water walking in this country. Their allied organizations in the Middle East were going to make sure that it didn't happen there again either. Their spokesman, a bearded seven-year old, in fact even the girls in the group were bearded, was interviewed by all major, minor and augmented networks, and made all the wire services in the free and even in the not-so-free world. This was all the more amazing since he only knew 34 words other than the four letter variety. In total he amassed more air time than Walter, Chet, David and Lucy combined in all their years, including reruns.

Well at last the Prez decided there was only one way to end all this nonsense and that was to go down to the Potomac and fall in. A date was announced for the trial, but this went all but missed by most readers since the event was reported in D section of most papers, back with the legal notices and the long range weather forecast.

On the appointed day Mr. Nixon as he promised showed up as he said. He was wearing an old suit since Pat wouldn't hear of getting one of his new ones wet. The press was there in full force and a few passers-by and at the stroke of noon Mr. Nixon stepped out into the river. Well lo and behold he didn't sink as he and everyone expected but strode clean to the other side and back again. Well needless to say he was pleased and awed and a little embarrassed by his feat. His staff and family couldn't contain themselves, they shouted, cheered, danced and even hugged Mr. Nixon on his return, then they all returned to the White House elated. Alas their joy was not shared by the press nor the feat reported as a

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modern miracle, instead the event was reported in D section only as the query, "Why doesn't the President take the bridge like everyone else?"

Joseph Gregory
8913 Snow Acres Dr.
Laurel, Md.

■ Dear Bill:

We have occasionally discussed the subject of abortion. As you know, I am disposed to think that it is a matter for the woman, but I nevertheless have certain misgivings about the following hypothetical situation which I have never seen mentioned in any discussions of the subject:

As you know, the law recognizes and protects the legal rights of a child "en ventre sa mere," as the legal expression has it. Let us assume that a wealthy young man has made a will dividing his property between his wife and children, or had failed to make a will, in which case the law provides for division. Let us further assume that this wealthy young man is killed in an automobile accident at a time when his wife is three weeks pregnant. If she bears the child, her husband's property will be divided between her and the child; if no child is born, she gets all his property and is a perhaps more desirable widow from the point of view of a materialistic man looking for a wife, and, despite the idealism of the younger generation, such men still exist. Hence it is, or may be, to her material interest to have the fetus aborted. Should she be permitted to do so?

This hypothetical situation is no doubt extremely rare and probably there are few young women who could be so inhuman as to have an abortion under such circumstances; nevertheless, the possibility exists. And it seems rather odd to protect the rights of a fetus in property, but not the right of the fetus to stay alive.

C. Dickerman Williams
Baker, Nelson, Williams & Mitchell
New York

■ Dear Friends:

As you know, the Enemy has gotten totally out of hand. So, here we are again, ready to support you with Conspiratorial Equipment.

Act now, survive later.

Happy Hunting

Hope Springs for
Our People's Underworld
P.O. Box 310
Shelbyville, Indiana

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Should there be another occasion on which you are faced with the "arduous challenge" of emulating bureaucratic prose, I am enclosing the NATAPROBU Buzz Words, Revised and Expanded. You may also find the new list of assistance in your communicative interchange with corporate and academic as well as governmental bureaucrats.

Having made my own contributions to the developing state of the bureaucratic art while nesting in the State Department Building for seven years, I have attained the appropriate level of mumblistic artistry to serve as a consultant on orbital dialoguing. I would be pleased to assist you in the interpretive projects which may serve to inspire dedicated fingertappers to apply the principles of dynamic inactivism with steadfast adherence to the adjustic procedures and rhetorical integrity. In the meantime, please be assured that the

thrombla
do
mmummble
to be
innovative
within
established
guidelines.

James H. Boren
National Association of Professional Bureaucrats
National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20004

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

SENATORIAL

Conservatives win!
They wouldn't,
But luckly,
They chose to run Jim,
'Stead of Will-
Iam F. Buckley

Bill Fee
11312 E. 61st St.
Raytown, Mo.

—**WFB**

Peking Buddies

(To the tune, "Frère Jacques," if you can follow the goddam thing.)

When Horowitz sits down to play,
None dares to pull his chair away
To plunk some dreadful roundelay.
But everybody and his dog
Writes verse.

When Isadora D. would spring,
Clad in some chiffon and a string,
Nobody tried to do her thing.
But everybody and his dog
Writes verse.

Sure, you can teach a dog to spell,
But doggy verses really *smell.*
(That's why they call it dogger-el.)
Still, everybody and his dog
Writes verse.

W. H. von Dreele

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JAMES BURNHAM

The Protracted Conflict

DOZENS OF VIETNAMS

A SIZABLE MAJORITY of all races, colors, creeds and parties is sick of the Vietnam war and wants out. This is by now the case with hawks as well as doves, though it is the doves who have produced the verbal formulas for quitting and have magnified them into operative public opinion. These formulas are anti-imperial, anti-military, isolationist, self-deprecating, and often guilt-ridden. We as a nation have succumbed to the sin of arrogance. We are overextended. We cannot act as global policeman. Our national interest is not at stake in Southeast Asia. We have no right to decide the type of government or social system under which other peoples and nations are to live. Etc.

This rationale is presented not merely as a specific brief for getting out of Vietnam but as a general doctrine by which the global activities of the nation ought to be henceforth guided.

In any discussion about the Vietnam war, the new doctrine is accepted as self-evident. We've sworn off for good.

Then the topic changes and somehow those self-evident principles vanish.

It doesn't have to be much of a change, either. Intervention in South Vietnam's war against North Vietnamese/Vietcong is out. That's clear. And it's equally clear that intervention in the South Vietnam election is our duty. Anybody can see we've got to do the necessary to bring about a Western-style presidential election, with one-man one-vote and enough candidates but not too many, and plenty of free speech for everyone, and no graft and no pressures and no taking advantage of official position—in South Vietnam, that is; naturally we're not talking about North Vietnam or China or some place irrelevant of that sort.

Choose Your Continent

Then there's Greece, it goes without saying. *There's* a country that we have a clear and present obligation to straighten out. A decent American can't just sit back and let those stupid Colonels grind the Greek people under their hobnails and shut down parliament and arrest opponents and put them on primitive islands and even beat up some of them. It's up to us to see that a situation of that sort is changed pronto.

As for South Africa, things there are too horrible to speak about. What's needed there is action: recall of our ambassador and a break in trade relations; pullout of U.S. business; boycott; blockade to prevent any munitions or other contraband from getting in. And you can say it again, in spades, for Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique.

And come to think about it, don't we and all decent human beings have to do something about East Bengal? We can't have those West Pakistani brutes slaughtering helpless innocents right and left, driving millions into exile, destroying their homes, plunging them into disease and starvation. So Senator Kennedy is beginning to suggest. He has been testing the wind lately, to see whether it is blowing fair for a Kennedy-led crusade to save the Bengalis.

It makes one wonder about the real meaning of the anti-intervention doctrine, particularly since it is observable that many of the same doves who have explained most passionately why we have no call to intervene in Vietnam are the most urgent spokesmen for intervening in the domestic life of this or that other nation, all around the globe. All interventions are prohibited but some are more prohibited than others.

Reflecting on this crisscross pattern, it occurs to me that non-doves may have offered a too rational explanation of what went wrong with the Vietnam war. By the examples both past and present, public opinion in this country expresses its outlook on international matters in moral terms. To support intervention it requires a morally satisfying myth. To be satisfying, the myth must include two key features: 1) what can be felt as an act of open aggression against us—not merely a course of action that on analysis can be judged damaging to our "national interest," but a palpable dramatic act: firing on Fort Sumter, blowing up the *Maine*, sinking the *Lusitania*, attacking Pearl Harbor, 2) a picturing of our intervention as coming to the defense of "victims"—of aggression, injustice, tyranny, racism, imperialism, or what not.

Program of Coming Events

The elements for a myth of this form were present, potentially, in the Vietnam situation (as they are in almost any situation), but neither government leaders nor unofficial opinionmakers tried seriously to project them in the traditional manner. This may be because in recent decades a liberal axiom has come to be felt as a necessary third feature to an acceptable myth: that the enemy should be defined as on the Right. However, it seems to me conceivable that this third feature may not be essential to the basic myth that arises from a past when modern liberal ideology did not exist.

In any event, it doesn't take much imagination to hear the thrill in Walter Cronkite's voice as he narrates the damage caused by the B-52 strike against Johannesburg, or see in the mind's eye the editorial in the *Washington Post* congratulating the Sixth Fleet for its investment of Piraeus and the admiral's ultimatum to the Colonels to resign by midnight or watch the Acropolis be shelled into dust. □

Everything Under Control

For pounds of fleshy imports
We had to peso much;
But could not guilder lilies
(or else we'd be in Dutch).

They rand the dollar in the ground,
But now twill toe the mark.
Even though the world believes
We're francly in the dark.

But thanks to the economists—
(Not weak old krones, but men!)
We will not play a sucre's game
And we will curb that yen!

JOHN D. KIRWAN

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NIXON'S SEVENTH CRISIS

Mr. Nixon's New Economic Policy can't work—precisely because it is aimed at the private sector, while it was the government itself that brought on the current crisis through excess money creation, oppressive taxation, bureaucratic self-indulgence

The Case against Wage and Price Control

ALAN REYNOLDS

MR. NIXON'S recent economic proposals essentially repudiate his earlier faith in free trade and free markets. Concern over a general upward trend of wages and prices is one thing, a strait-jacket on *relative* price and wage changes is quite another. There is no reason to believe that the existing relationships among myriad prices and wages are the most efficient or most equitable possible—even right now, much less after three months of change. Exemption of taxes and interest rates from the "freeze" leaves our frozen incomes vulnerable to the two fastest rising elements in the typical family budget.

So-called "direct" price controls are no such thing: They are a deceptive attack on the *results* of monetary mismanagement, rather than on the cause. The current suppression of price increases should cause few *short-run* problems, since the price index has been rising insignificantly (0.2 per cent last month). The impact of the enormous May increase in the money supply, however, may well hit about the same time the freeze is due to be lifted. Add this monetary snowball to three months of postponed labor demands, and we can be sure of a November explosion of wages, prices and strikes (as occurred in Britain after controls were lifted in late 1969). This situation will create a myopic clamor for still more controls, though controls were largely the cause of the wage explosion. Frozen wages and prices prevent the smooth, continual adjustments which free markets would otherwise make in response to government's inept management of debt and money.

The President's 10 per cent surcharge on non-quota imports is a blatantly inflationary move, designed to

"protect" consumers from low, foreign prices. Foreigners trade their goods for dollars so that they can spend those dollars on U.S. products. They don't collect dollars as a hobby. A tariff between the U.S. and Japan no more benefits the U.S. than a tariff between California and New York would benefit California.

By giving new names to old ideas, ancient arguments can be continually reborn with fresh, new trademarks and slogans. In this way, the tyranny of government wage and price control has been transformed into the thoroughly respectable notion of an "incomes policy."

The idea is simple enough; it goes something like this: "The inflation of the Seventies is something altogether new. Unions bargain for wages in excess of productivity gains, and these wage-costs are simply passed on, by monopolistic firms, in the form of higher administered prices. Orthodox prescriptions of tight money are simply irrelevant to this fundamentally new situation, in which inflation continues despite massive unemployment. The only solution, which will combine reasonable price stability with a tolerable level of unemployment, is government control of wages and/or prices—at least in highly concentrated industries."

There is, of course, nothing "new" about all this, except the slogans. Shifting the blame for inflation has been attempted by most governments throughout history. The Democratic Party has also consistently embraced this scapegoat theory of inflation since before 1960, when Chester Bowles explained his party's platform by describing "a relatively new type of inflation in which prices in a few tightly controlled semimonopolistic industries are raised regardless of market consideration." More recently, AFL-CIO President George Meany has been especially vocal in demanding wage and price controls.

In *The New Industrial State*, even John Kenneth Galbraith has lost the indecision on this subject which plagued his earlier books. "The seemingly obvious remedy for the wage-price spiral is to regulate prices and wages by public authority." Unemployment, says Galbraith, "occurs when there is insufficient demand; the spiral operates when there is too much and also, unfortunately, when there is just enough . . . since the system is unstable at full employment, there is no alternative to control. However regretted, it is inescapable."

But why should wage and price controls be regretted? Aside from the inherent risk in granting anyone such potentially awesome power over incomes, there are several regrets that

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Galbraith forgot to mention. First of all, controls may block price or wage increases related to genuine shortages. Prices and wages act as signals for businessmen and laborers to move to areas and occupations where they're most urgently needed. Controls stop this movement of scarce productive equipment and skills, and thereby limit the economy's ability to produce what is wanted.

Second, because of the enormous complexity of our economy, even fairly comprehensive (i.e., fascistic) efforts at control are necessarily selective and discriminatory. Very conspicuous industries are singled out for "restraint," while sectors where inflation may be greatest—professional incomes, food and services—gain even more from the resulting diversion of demand. Controlling a few wages and prices doesn't eliminate inflationary pressure, it simply shifts the pressure elsewhere.

These objections to controls are not just theoretical, but express actual effects of the wage-price guideposts of the Sixties. Indeed, the disillusioning experience with unenforced guidelines is the reason why stronger measures are now often being proposed. But the problems of price control arise from *following* the rules, not from evading them. The *less* room left for hidden price and service adjustments, the more inefficient and inequitable the distortions of repressed inflation will become.

The Chicken and the Egg

These ill effects are often admitted, but wage and price controls are nonetheless considered The Only Answer to our dilemma. After all, it is said, monopolistic corporations raise prices to pass on the cost of rising union wages; these prices then justify further wage demands, and so on. February articles in *Look* and *Fortune* blamed unions for starting this cost-push "spiral"; George Meany blames corporations. Galbraith, the diplomat, claims neither the chicken nor the egg came first: "Wages force up prices and prices force up wages."

In a famous essay, MIT Professor Paul Samuelson offers a brief explanation of cost-push inflation: "Just as wages and prices may be sticky in the face of unemployment and overcapacity, so may they be pushing upward beyond what can be explained in terms of levels and shifts in demand."

Now, suppose a businessman is somewhat reluctant to take markdowns and cut his employees' wages. How does this reluctance relate in any way to the same businessman's ability to *raise* prices without losing sales to his competitors, or to *raise* wages without worrying about the effect on profits? Samuelson's conclusion simply doesn't follow. Downward price and wage rigidity proves nothing at all about upward "pricing power." Moreover, as Professor George Stigler of the University of Chicago demonstrated, the alleged "rigidity" of those prices which Gardiner Means whimsically classified as "administered" decreases as more firms are examined, and disappears altogether when we consider actual prices rather than prices from price lists and catalogs. No association has been found between concentration of production (the portion of business done by a few firms) and the size and frequency of price increases.

Most firms are continually searching for the combination of price and sales which will best maximize their wealth. Sure, *any* firm, regardless how competitive its market, *could* keep raising its price (even until only one unit could be sold), but such arbitrary pricing power would obviously be suicidal.

By implying no significant connection between wages or prices asked, and the amount of labor and goods actually sold, common remarks about the "new" inflation completely reject elementary economic theory. An imposed increase in the price of, say, steel, causes some steel buyers to use less steel or to substitute aluminum or plastic. The resulting lower output of steel releases productive resources (machines, workers, raw materials) to other goods, whose prices fall as their supply is thereby increased. Similarly, to the extent that relative wage gains of unions have not been an illusion, they have occurred through restrictions on entering a trade (usually by licensing laws), which increased the supply of workers in nonunion sectors and depressed nonunion wages by 3 to 4 per cent. *Specific* price or wage increases do not create general inflation.

Probably the most compelling feature of the cost-push argument for wage and price controls is that it provides an opportunity to criticize big unions or big business. Actually, though, it isn't enough to show that unions and concentrated industries have substantial power to influence wage rates and prices. This would explain why certain prices and wages were *relatively* high at any moment, but such market power alone would not explain why these prices, or why prices generally, were rising. In order to explain generally rising prices, monopolistic influences would, first of all, have to be substantial enough already greatly to affect the general level of all prices. Secondly, such pricing power would also have to be *increasing* at a rate much faster than that of the average price level, since the average also contains many competitive prices. In brief, unions and large corporations would have to command a *predominant and rapidly growing* share

of economic activity in order to cause any general increase in prices.

Because it's so newsworthy, the market power of unions and large corporations is often exaggerated. Dr. Albert Rees, a prominent labor economist, estimates that the direct union wage effect on all costs in the economy is about 4 per cent. Moreover, union membership has stabilized at less than one-fourth of the labor force, and some of the strongest unions have experienced substantial membership losses (apparently due to the effect of high wages in reducing employment). Manufacturing unions are an especially poor scapegoat for recent problems, since average wage increases for *non*union manufacturing workers exceeded those for unionized

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workers in four out of the five years ending with 1969.*

Incidentally, the fact that wages are rising faster than productivity in no way "proves" that wages *cause* inflation. Suppose that wages and productivity both rose at 3 per cent, while prices rose at 6 per cent. Obviously, this would be a 3 per cent decline in real wages, and a terrific boon to employers, because of reduced salary cost. This is, in fact, the main reason why unexpected inflation increases short-run employment, though an explicit wage cut with stable prices would have the same effect. To ask wage-earners to lag behind the general trend of other prices is to ask them to suffer a serious rela-

tive decline. As we shall see, the supposition that price increases would then slow down proportionately is more than unlikely.

On the business side, Anthony Harberger has estimated that the annual cost of enterprise monopoly to consumers is less than $1.50 per person, and most of this is government-created monopoly. All major research shows no increase whatsoever in industrial concentration since 1909 (firms are bigger, but do not get a bigger share of the growing market). Big business is a particularly unlikely villain in last year's drama, since after-tax corporate profits were only about 6.5 per cent of Gross National Product, compared with a more typical 9.5 per cent in 1966. The Tax Reform Act of 1969 was, as the President's Council of Economic Advisers admits, "excessively burdensome on business investment." The result was a $4-billion reduction in investment, and a lower real output than in 1969.

So, it appears there is little factual support for the crucial notion that union and industrial power is sufficient to upset greatly the whole economy, and even less justification for the idea that such power is increasing relative to the more competitive sphere. Since manufacturing unions and corporations have not fared too well during recent years, either their power is a bit overstated, or they intentionally "administered" their prices and wages in order to lose wealth.

The Phillips Fallacy

A second flaw, in the idea that inflation can be caused by negotiated wages and administered prices, is that it assumes a passive monetary policy. Without an increase in either the amount of dollars, or the rapidity with which they're spent (velocity), general price and wage increases will result in unsold goods and unemployed laborers. It simply isn't possible for most people to be receiving incomes from continually rising wages and prices unless the Federal Reserve authorities create more and more money units (roughly, by making it easier for banks to create new checking accounts in the form of loans).

In principle, money velocity could increase for a while, to pay the rising prices. But people and businesses have been remarkably stubborn about the amount of cash (in terms of real buying power) that they hold relative to their wealth. More precisely, the demand for currency and checking deposits to hold (the converse of velocity of spending) is *predictably* related to variations in wealth, prices and interest rates. Thus, changes in velocity can be offset by the appropriate Federal Reserve actions to change the money supply.

If we are having inflation, then, it logically *must* be due to excessive increases in the amount of money relative to the amount of goods. In technical terms, if the supply of cash balances is increased beyond the amount which people wish to hold, relative to their wealth, they will spend the difference, thereby bidding up prices (which reduces the real value of their cash holdings). This is the monetarist explanation of inflation, which the archaic "new" theories claim is now suddenly irrelevant to recent experience. What, exactly, is so unique about this recent experience?

From December 1969 to December 1970, the stock of currency and checking deposits rose 5.4 per cent. A more inclusive measure of liquid assets, including various savings deposits, increased in this period by 7.7 per cent. Output per man-hour actually declined somewhat last year, as did Gross National Product. Thus, we had too much money chasing too few goods, and this situation created a 5.6 per cent price inflation last year.

In the first half of 1971, the monetary growth became explosive: an 18.3 per cent annual rate of growth of all monetary assets. Since it takes six to nine months for the full effects of monetary changes to be felt, the Nixon Administration is certainly not being complacent when it says enough has already been done to "stimulate" the sluggish economy. Actually, that's a huge understatement. Whether the impact of the new money will be felt primarily in increasing prices, or in production and employment, cannot be conclusively determined from the fact that unemployment is fairly high. The answer will largely depend on how much of the new money can be channeled into profits and investments, rather than into incomes from unmarketable government activities.

The idea that increased wage inflation will reduce unemployment, and that increased unemployment will reduce inflation, is often called the "Phillips Curve" after the British economist who more or less discovered it. Phillips' figures, for Britain from 1861-1913, show a fairly close relationship between the rate of change in money wages and the portion of the labor force unemployed.

Samuelson and Solow's influential 1960 paper presented their "best guesses . . . phrased in short-run terms" about the relevance of the Phillips Curve to the United States. Most editorial "facts" about how much inflation will cure how much unemployment, and vice versa, are derived from these short-run guesses. *Time* Magazine (August 16), for example, somehow deduced that

* *Economic Report of the President* (U.S. Govt., 1971) p. 59. All subsequent statistics are also from this source, unless otherwise noted.

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"well over 10 per cent" unemployment would be needed to stop inflation.

Actually, this alleged trade-off between unemployment and inflation only occurs while the inflation is unexpected. Once employees realize that they can no longer buy as many things despite their apparent wage increases, their resulting demands for higher *real* wages will restore the previous rate of unemployment. The only way of continually fooling people into thinking a pay cut is really a raise, is to keep increasing the *rate* of inflation, which soon becomes obvious too, and results in a spiraling situation as people rush to unload money for goods.

This is likewise the verdict of most recent factual research on the "Phillips Curve"—that it is a short-run approximation at best, being based on a failure to distinguish between nominal and real wages. It is not true, then, as Samuelson claims, that the combination of high unemployment and price inflation confirms the folklore of cost-push inflation. It would do so only if we were willing to accept the Phillips Curve fallacy as well.

Yet, even if we swallowed a crude trade-off between high unemployment and low inflation, there are at least two reasons why we might expect unemployment and inflation to coexist right now. First of all, at least 45 per cent of the increase in *civilian* unemployment last year (700,000 of 1,570,000) was due to defense cutbacks. This government-planned unemployment clearly has nothing to do with aggregate demand, nor with some inherent instability of the private economy. By subtracting the defense unemployment, we find that 1970 unemployment in this sense was 3.4 million (about 4.3 per cent), which is considerably less, even in absolute numbers, than in any of the years between 1958 and 1965.

Secondly, the 1970 labor force increase of 1.9 million was more than double the increase in nondefense unemployment, largely because of more teen-agers and married women filing for unemployment benefits. These benefits rose from $1,890,900,000 in 1966 to a mere $3,960,000,000 in 1970. Average weekly checks increased more in the last two years than in all the years from 1961-67 and the average check is now equal to about thirty hours of work at the minimum wage.

Perhaps it would not be too cynical to suggest that we should *expect* more housewives and students to list themselves as "unemployed," when their leisure time is so limited, child care so costly, and unemployment benefits so lucrative relative to part-time employment.

The President's Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) is usually noted for its ability to whitewash existing governmental policy. The latest *Economic Report of the President*, however, is remarkably candid about government's role in raising the cost of living, and in discouraging efficient investment.

First, there is government suppression of competition through import restrictions, maximum interest payments on bank deposits, restrictive residential building codes, laws fostering closed entry into unionized trades, and minimum rate regulation in the transportation industry. Journalists make much of the strikes and "administered" prices in the auto industry. But how many of us are affected by (fictitious) new car list prices, which have only risen a total of 7 per cent in the last three years anyway? How often do we hear mentioned the government's deliberate increases of regulated transportation rates —which affect nearly everything everyone buys? Professor Yale Brozen estimates the wastes and overcharges resulting from transport regulation amount to $10 billion a year. If that's a sample of government price control, it surely isn't too encouraging.

A related source of inflated prices and restricted output is government tinkering with wages and prices (*more* of which is now, paradoxically, suggested as a cure for inflation!). As the CEA put it: ". . . where government has intervened to set prices for certain goods and services and otherwise to control their availability, the results have often prevented the efficient use of resources." Examples of such distortions could be found in farm and dairy price supports, state "fair trade" laws, subsidized recreational areas, minimum-wage laws and restrictive professional licensing laws.

Government Fraud

If governments are to decree the "proper" level of private incomes, it seems worthwhile to ask who will regulate the regulators' incomes. The Federal Government is the largest employer in the country, with more than 2.5 million civilians on its payroll. Employment of all levels of government is 16 per cent of total employment. The number of state and local government employees has more than doubled since 1955.

In the first quarter of 1970, the Federal Government pay raise added 1.2 percentage points to the whole economy's measured annual rate of inflation. This price index increase has now become part of the "proof" that we need more government regulation of incomes —of *private* incomes, of course.

Quoting the *Economic Report* again (page 34): "State and local government purchases, which have been rising steadily for many years, continued to increase at a rapid rate. . . . Employment by state and local governments rose almost 5 per cent over the average level in 1969. . . . The rise in wage and salary rates was especially large last year." So much for Galbraith's remark that "those who depend for their pay on the public treasury are . . . especially likely to suffer during inflation."

The relevance of all this is that government is the only sector which is immune to monetary policy, as was emphasized by Arthur Burns many years ago. Here we have a legitimate need for wage control, as well as an example of how effective governments might be in resisting wage demands.

The Federal Government can finance any salary expense by increased taxes, or by selling bonds to the banking system—which become reserves for inflationary loan expansion. State and local governments can and do finance unusually generous salaries by unusually large tax-rate increases, or by issuing tax-exempt bonds at artificially low interest rates.

Thus, government officials, since they have little incentive to worry about the pinch of salary costs on revenues, are in a unique position to create a fourfold inflationary pressure: 1) highly productive employees are induced out of less remunerative private employment, thus reducing the supply of marketable goods and services; 2) regulated rates are increased in government enterprises, such as the postal service monopoly; 3) some of the added salary expense is usually financed with inflationary management of government debt; and 4) the rest of the expense is passed on in enlarged tax requisitions, which have an obvious direct effect on the cost of living.

Table C-30 of the *Economic Report*

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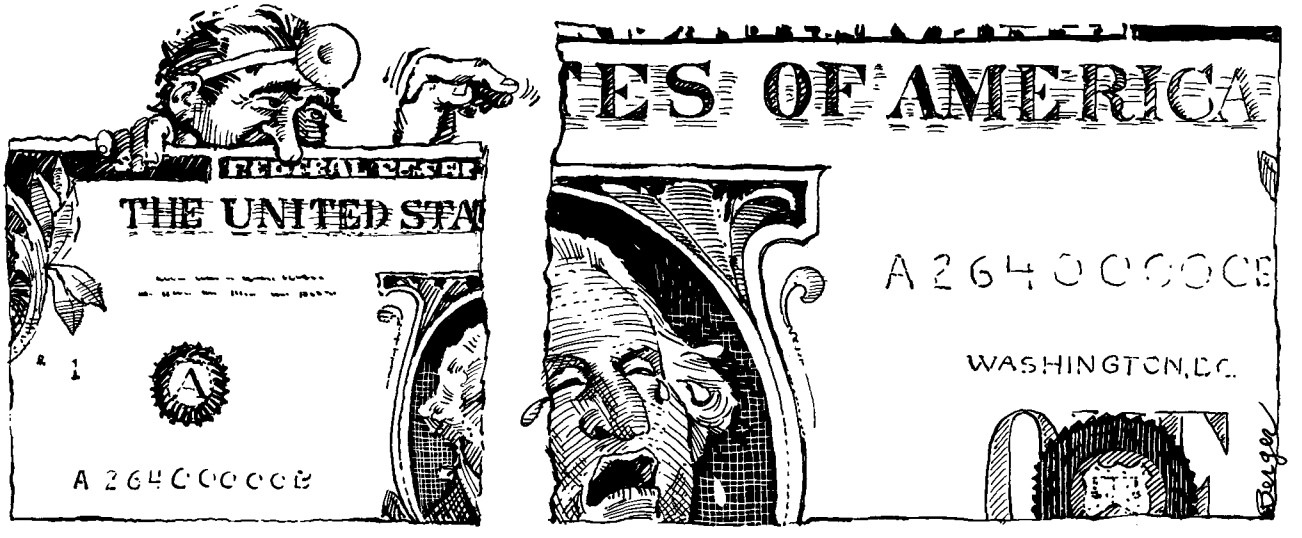
of the President shows average gross weekly earnings by type of employment—except that government is conspicuously absent. We can arrive at an estimate of mean weekly earnings in government employment by dividing government annual wage and salary disbursements ($114 billion; Table C-17) by the number of government employees (12,599,000; Table C-27). The result is $174 a week, which is 45 per cent higher than the nonagricultural private economy's average of $120, and 14 per cent higher than the supposedly monopolistic manufacturing sector. Moreover, the corresponding gap between public and private averages was



only 27 per cent in 1960 and 39 per cent in 1965, indicating a growing source of inflationary expenditure. As we have seen, wage-push inflation can originate only in the government sector, because only governments are immune to the incentives of monetary restriction.

The plight of the *private* employee is neatly summarized in Table C-32 of the *Economic Report*. Average gross weekly earnings rose from $95.06 in 1965 to $119.78 in 1970, for an illusory increase of $24.72. Adjusting for inflation by converting to 1967 prices, however, shows only a $2.58 real improvement, or .5 per cent per year. Subtracting only Social Security and income taxes, we find average real spendable earnings, for a family of four, actually *declined* $1 from 1965 to 1970. Neither inflation nor federal taxes have risen so rapidly as regressive state and local taxes, however, so average real private income, net of all taxes, has doubtless declined even more than this figure shows.

There is a subtle dishonesty in editorializing about the "cost of living," while not even mentioning taxes. Ralph Nader should investigate consumer fraud originating in government. According to tax authority Joseph Pechman, families with annual incomes between $2,000 and $4,000 received 11 per cent of their 1965 incomes from government welfare payments—but they *paid* 27 per cent of their incomes in taxes. The most quickly increasing taxes are the highly regressive Social Security, property and sales taxes. Social Security payroll deductions already take over $1.5 billion from families officially classified as poor, and rates have risen from 6 per cent of incomes up to $4,800 in 1960, to 9.6 per cent of incomes up to $7,800 in 1969. State and local tax receipts have risen from 7.1 per cent of GNP in 1951 to 11.9 per cent in 1968. Federal, state and local taxes claimed at least 44 per cent of the incomes of families earning less than $2,000 in 1965, thereby creating most of the poverty problem these agencies claimed to be solving.

Pull, Not Push

The CEA's *Economic Report* (page 100) illustrates the deceptive way in which this tax burden is typically glossed over: "The sectors where strong growth *in demand* has occurred are education, health and general government. . . . Those sectors where expenditures are increasing are also the sectors where prices have risen very rapidly." Much of the fantastic inflation in the price of medical services is indeed due to the fact that government greatly increased the "demand" for such services by paying 40 per cent of the bills, while allowing the AMA to legally restrict the supply by controlling the licensing of medical schools (the number of medical students was the same in 1955 as it was in 1904).

But how can we believe there has been an increase in *demand* for education and general government? The growth has been in *supply*, despite well-publicized, overwhelming taxpayer disapproval. On the CEA's definition, the "demand" for the Vietnam war must still be enormous.

Of the private sector's price increases, we could well argue that much of the apparent inflation represents significant *quality* improvement: polyester knit apparel instead of cotton, more low-cost restaurant meals appearing in the food budget, self-cleaning ovens, aerosol cans, disc brakes on cars etc. It would certainly be difficult to create a comparable argument about bloated statism: Hard to say, for example, that the doubling since 1963 of state and local expenditures on education and welfare is due to a tremendous improvement in quality.

What we are experiencing is more of a tax-pull than a wage-push situation. Inflated government has raised the cost of living through high regulated rates and excess money creation, while it reduced real incomes and economic growth with oppressive taxation. Now, some people are seriously suggesting that what we need is even more government intervention, with price controls and an onerous state-freeze on private wage "increases." The logic involved is reminiscent of the rock concert where some genius hired several members of the Hell's Angels to promote peace and order. □

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ROMANTICISM

A Young Conservative Looks at Nixon and China

RICHARD BROOKHISER

It was between the hours of ten and eleven; my brother came running down the hall and threw open the door:

"Tricky Dick's going to China!"

I was amazed. A President of the United States seeks and accepts an invitation to go to Communist China: The very idea was impressive, it struck home with a force quite unrelated to the fact that this President was a conservative Republican who had made his name twenty years ago by denouncing Communists at home and abroad. When a weary climber finally strikes a sudden, stunning view of miles upon miles of lakes and forests, he does not pause to wonder if the trees are pines, or if the terrain was carved by glaciers. So I was breathless, so I could not help but indulge myself in this thing; it had about it the tremor of elation, the hint of crisis—ping-pong diplomacy is good, but you can't get worked up over it. This went beyond euphoria—this had elements of audacity.

And so, a week later, reflecting on my own initial reaction, and other things besides, I have come to feel that Richard Nixon is a Romantic, and that his attitude toward China rises from a deep-seated Romantic vision of politics. This might come as a shock to most people—Richard Nixon, Tricky Dicky, politician, pragmatist, manipulator and cheap circus side-showman who sold his election snake oil all the way to the White House. In a hundred subtle ways, by the *New York Times*, and Hugh Sidey, and Norman Mailer, and most magazines, and all Democrats, we have been fed the lie so often that we have come to believe it. And yet here is the same Tricky Dicky, packing his bags and preparing to run off to a Tilsit upon which may hang issues that will make Napoleon and Alexander seem puny by comparison.

We have seen the type before, perhaps. The day after the announcement the name of Neville Chamberlain was already in the air; it is a pity the comparison had to be cheapened by the mouth of a member of the John Birch Society, for it bears some examination. Two hundred pages into *The Gathering Storm*, Winston Churchill pauses to give an appreciation of this man:

> Neville Chamberlain, on the other hand, was alert, businesslike, opinionated, and self-confident in a very high degree. Unlike Baldwin, he conceived himself able to comprehend the whole field of Europe, and indeed the world. Instead of a vague but none the less deep-seated intuition, we had now a narrow, sharp-edged efficiency within the limits of the policy in which he believed. . . . His all pervading hope was to go down to history as the Great Peacemaker . . .

When the ping-pong honeymoon was at its peak, I had uncomfortably recalled what nation had hosted the

Olympics of 1936; the surprising failure to inform the Nationalists of our intentions also savored a bit of the shabby treatment of Czechoslovakia. But it is not a one-to-one correspondence of events that I want to press, rather a similarity of men and personalities. "Alert, businesslike, opinionated . . . narrow, sharp-edged efficiency"—what better words could describe the outer image, the "Tricky Dicky," of Richard Nixon? A belief in his ability to comprehend the whole field of the world—in what field does Richard Nixon most prize himself on his expertise (and rightly so) but in foreign affairs? The hope, the desire to be remembered as the Great Peacemaker is perhaps the most difficult to swallow—but since entering office, what has the President done but steadily and persistently pull troops out of Vietnam? What did he look for when he went to Rumania, what was he looking for when he sent Rogers to the Middle East—or Kissinger to Peking?

By his own admission, Richard Nixon's great idol is Woodrow Wilson, he of the war to end all wars. And sure enough, when the tumult and bloodshed subsided, when the great moment beckoned, Wilson went to Versailles; cheered by the masses of Europe who expected nothing less from him than they would from a Savior, inspired by a vision of peace and self-determination that would spread like a balm over the Continent. He went to Versailles, and to the horse-sense and passions and suspicion and rapacity that awaited him there—and which, by the vector of their forces, managed to squander the securities of the victors, sow the seeds of resentment in the vanquished, and barter away all of Wilson's constructive points in return for the erection of a world instrument he had neglected to prepare his nation to join.

But it is the personality, the pattern of thought, which is the important thing here, not the specifics. The desire to do good and the firm belief in one's ability to do it resided deep in the souls of both Wilson and Chamberlain; and when the stage was set, they took the plunge. We are told by *Life* Magazine that Richard Nixon cherishes the Chinese character for the word "crisis," which is a compound of the characters for "danger" and "opportunity"; when the stage was set, they took the plunge.

Czar Alexander, already referred to, could not refuse to go to meet Napoleon at Tilsit, a conference whose conse-

(Continues on page 1071)

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TEN YEARS LATER

Berlin Revisited

ANNE ARMSTRONG

"Ich bin ein Berliner!" Eight years ago—June 1963—President John Kennedy stood in front of the West Berlin City Hall and assured 100,000 massed Berliners that America stood firm for freedom in the world and in West Berlin. The Berliners cheered wildly and presumably believed him.

However, ten years is a long time to live in a mutilated and divided city. The gay and gallant West Berliners, who laughed their way through the danger and deprivation of the postwar years, of the blockade in 1948, seem less gay and, only by a formidable act of will, gallant.

West Berlin presents a prosperous and bustling façade. Beneath the surface vitality and cheerfulness old Berlin hands note an undercurrent of profound concern, even of despair. "We've been sold out! We're wrapped up and waiting to be delivered," one Berliner told me, and he was not a conservative but a disillusioned Social Democrat. "Salami tactics," he warned, meaning that it is only a question of time, of years, if not of months, before the East begins its encroachment, slicing away one right, one guarantee, one freedom after another until ultimately West Berlin stands denuded of defense and can be swallowed whole.

The visitor who strolls down the Kurfürstendamm will find it crowded with brisk and purposeful shoppers. Boutiques are bright with the latest fashions. Restaurants and sidewalk cafés overflow with tourists, shoppers, students and busy Berliners, decently dressed, well nourished and obviously prosperous. Retail trade thrives; foreign workers crowd into the city to help fill the constant labor shortage. The subways sparkle with cleanliness, the trains run frequently and on time. The streets are safe. The city, like any city, has problems, but to an embattled New Yorker it seems an urban paradise.

But its citizens are troubled. The universities, once a source of pride, have become centers of rebellion. "Free University!" a lawyer told me in disgust and dismay. "I remember when it was free. I was one of the original students who fled from the old Humboldt University in East Berlin back in 1948 with some of our professors to find academic freedom here in West Berlin. We knew from experience that Communism meant the death of freedom. Now leftist students are destroying freedom on the campus and they march around in the streets cheering Mao and Che."

Within the past year the radical New Left students have taken over the control of the two major West Berlin universities, the Free University and the Technical University. In each faculty the militants have organized a red cell, a cadre of revolutionists that seeks to dominate all decisions of its faculty and to control all elections. The radicals have relatively little influence in the schools of law and medicine and in the natural sciences, but they dominate such fields as political science, sociology, economics and education and are very powerful in theology. They order class boycotts, disrupt lectures, and terrorize antirevolutionary students and professors.

Under the new university law, which went into effect last fall, power to run the universities is divided equally among the senior faculty, the junior faculty and the students; each group elects one-third of the representatives on all administrative bodies. This means that the radicals automatically control almost one-third of the administration. Since the majority of junior faculty members also tend to be radical and since many of the more conservative professors have already resigned or transferred out of Berlin, both major West Berlin universities are now virtually in the hands of these cells.

One harassed official in the city's department of education sighed and told me, "We live from vacation to vacation. We can only relax when final exams are over and then only until the next semester begins." Ordinary middle Berliners, especially those who lived through the tension of the Soviet blockade, the triumph of the Allied airlift, Berliners to whom Communism is anathema, react with impatience and often with anger. Tension between town and gown grows and to many average Berliners "student" has become an epithet.

A taxidriver exploded when I asked what he thought of the students: "I wouldn't mind if they studied—we need doctors and engineers. I'm willing to pay for that. But why should we taxpayers support them while they march and throw bombs? Why should we build new buildings so they can paint slogans all over them?"

However, the average Berliner sees a more immediate threat to his safety and freedom than the revolting students. He is deeply concerned about Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, about the implications of the West German-Soviet treaty for the future of West Berlin which Chancellor Brandt signed on August 12, 1970, almost the ninth anniversary of the Berlin wall. Politically minded Berliners—and most Berliners are politically minded—have been concerned ever since. The treaty has yet to be ratified by the Bundestag, and the Soviets have begun to growl impatiently. The Brandt government assures Berlin and the opposition that ratification is dependent on the success of the current four-power negotiations on the status of Berlin. Brandt insists that the cultural, economic and legal ties of West Berlin with West Germany will be preserved. Many Berliners are skeptical.

In March 1970 the first serious negotiations over the status of Berlin in more than eleven years began among the representatives of the four powers which technically administer Berlin: France, Great Britain, the U.S. and the USSR. Although the delegates have met regularly since, until now no agreement has been reached. In the absence of a clear-cut agreement that assures the political independence of their isolated half city, West Berliners obviously feel insecure. They ponder the Wall and America's apparent acquiescence and their faith wanes.

Richard Nixon is the kind of man admired by the typical Berliner. He is hard working, conscientious and displays a quiet seriousness. These are Prussian virtues. A visit to Berlin in these tense days would not solve the Berlin or German problems. It might help a little, perhaps just enough. □

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SLAUGHTER AT SAN QUENTIN

What about the Other Five?

GERRY KIRK

THERE HAS BEEN a strange (to *me*) *spate of newspaper columns* lately about the unspeakably tragic death of an allegedly brilliant and gifted black writer, name of George Jackson, who was gunned down by a prison guard ("murdered" his friends claim) as he was trying to escape from San Quentin prison.

According to these heart-rending eulogies, the thing which really killed the brilliant and gifted young man was not the lead in his head, but the brutal California penal system, and/or the terrible injustices to which he was subjected by society (meaning you and me) since birth.

Well I don't know about you, I personally can't recall ever having met a George Jackson, but I find it difficult to feel guilty or even bad about his death when I think of the other five men—three white guards and two white inmates who were murdered, or caused to be murdered, before he fled.

This must be a personal prejudice because none of the columnists who has written about the San Quentin massacre even mentions their names, much less their ages. Then, buried 'way down deep in the news columns, we learn that they did have names, and families. And we learn that, like Shylock's Jew, when their throats were cut they bled—and died.

One of the strangest of this spate of columns was written by Harriet Van Horne, who devoted seventeen paragraphs of passionate praise to the "brilliant, gifted and extraordinarily talented young man" who had been shot while trying to escape, but only seven words to the nameless and presumably untalented guards and inmates whose only common sin had been the color of their skin.

AS MANY readers will recall, Miss Van Horne's "extraordinarily talented" young man was one of three justly famed ("notorious" would be too prejudiced a word) Soledad Brothers, whose box score of alleged murders boasts one guard who was killed at Soledad State Prison, plus three prisoners and a judge who were killed at the Marin County Courthouse when an attempt to get the Brothers sprung backfired (the guns were allegedly supplied by the extraordinarily talented and beautiful Angela Davis).

In view of this fascinating background, and the young man's literary inclinations, it is understandable that Miss Van Horne should shed most of her tears and devote most of her column to the tragedy of his passing. But in view of her frequently proclaimed and constantly displayed sensibilities, it's difficult to understand how she could so callously ignore the other five.

The same must be said of *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker, who devoted an equally idolatrous column to the "tragic and talented" Soledad Brother, while sparing almost exactly the same number of words (five, instead of seven) to the five others.

Fortunately for the growing legend and death toll of the Soledad Brothers, there was an old-fashioned, objective news report on the massacre by some journalist who apparently clings to the belief that names make news—even the names of white, non-brilliant prison guards and inmates if they happen to have been murdered. So here are his pertinent facts on the five *other* dead human beings who were so briefly dismissed by Van Horne and Wicker:

"Dr. Cooke said the two white prisoners, John Lynn and Donald Kane, who worked as tier attendants on the first floor of the Adjustment Center, had been killed when their throats were slashed. This, he said, was done with a toothbrush handle and half a razor blade.

"Officer Frank DeLeon, 44, who escorted Jackson back from the visiting center, was choked to death with an electric cord. His ankles were tied together. There were razor cuts on his neck and a gunshot wound in the back of his head. (Somebody must have been *really* annoyed with him!)

"Sgt. Jere Graham, 39, who had come to the cell area to call Officer DeLeon for another assignment, had four stab wounds in his chest and abdomen and a gunshot wound in the back of his head.

"Officer Paul Krasnes, 52, was choked by a cloth around the neck and his neck was cut by the razor."

One cannot help but marvel at the swift and imaginative justice dispensed by the murderers. There was none of the cumbersome, delaying legal maneuvering that has stalled the execution of scores of killers during the past decade: "If a cat's guilty just cut his throat!"

ON THE other hand, the wealth of detail available on how the three guards and two inmates were murdered may make it a bit difficult for the news media admirers of the Soledad Brothers to maintain that they are more sinned against than sinning. There is no doubt, however, that they will keep on trying. As, for example, in these soul-searching bits by columnist Wicker:

"If it can be demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt," he writes, "that there was no such 'set up' [of the tragic and talented Mr. Jackson] of course that *may* [italics ours] be useful to society in trying to hold black disaffection and anger within bounds."

But then this far-sighted humanitarian dismisses his own emphasis on the importance of such a demonstration because, "whether or not he [the talented young man] was shot while escaping or was in some way 'set up' for killing, his life was the real tragedy." And you and I, buddy, were the *real* killers!

The same basic theme, that we are all "guilty" of the miserable life and tragic death of the extraordinarily talented George Jackson, was echoed in a piece on the Op Ed page of the *New York Times* by a former Assistant Attorney General who traced the entire course of the bullet which killed Jackson, ". . . on top of the head . . . through the base of his skull . . . down his back alongside the spine." But never once is there so much as a mention of the death, or the manner of death, of the five white men whom George Jackson murdered or caused to be murdered.

Sounds logical I guess, but . . . what about the other five? □

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BOOKS

Rickety Framework for History

Politics and the Stages of Growth
By W. W. Rostow
Cambridge, 410 pp., $9.50

ARNOLD W. GREEN

Most philosophers of history can be classified as either particularists or men of grand sweep. The particularists—such as Karl Popper, Isaiah Berlin, Mises, Max Weber—stress the specificity of man and time and place, the irreducible non-repetitiveness of events; they see nothing in history as being inevitable, and nothing that ever happens as being anticipated before it occurred. The men of grand sweep—such as Vico, Comte, Edward Tylor and Marx—view history as a series of stages, each leading (or marching) ineluctably to the next, a progression that culminates in a predestined goal. It is Professor Rostow's unusual accomplishment to have kept one foot in each of these camps.

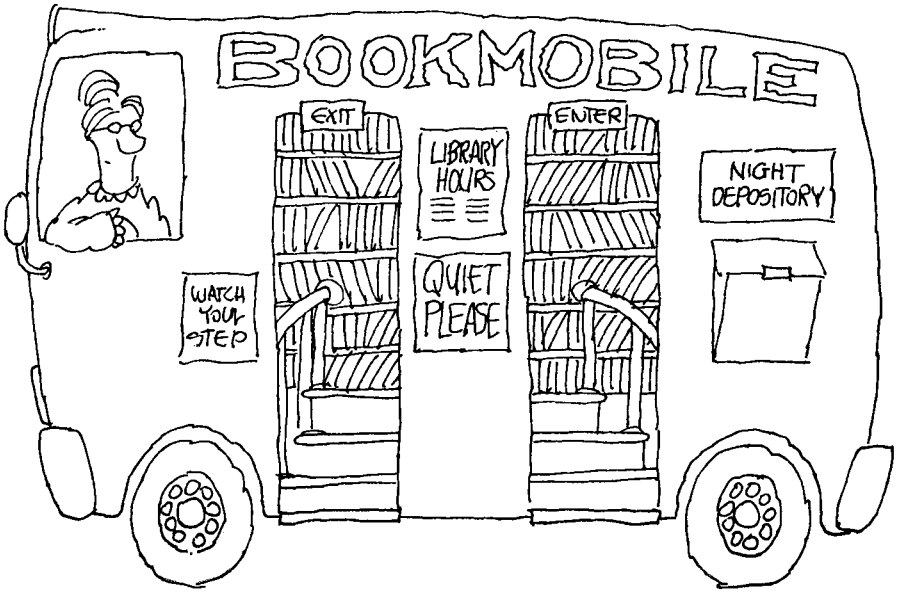
The basic framework of his earlier *The Stages of Economic Growth* is retained: history moves from traditional society to preconditions for take-off, then take-off, drive to maturity and age of mass consumption. In the earlier book, under the apparent influence of high United States birthrates during the Fifties, he said the next stage would probably be the seeking of new values in larger families. In this one, the next stage is definitely stated as the search for quality, which incorporates more recent history: rising public outlays to alleviate poverty and social injustice and pollution, and facing the challenge of that portion of youth which chooses to opt out or protest in illegal ways.

This book elaborates the "march of the stages of growth" in terms of political history, essays a linkage between economic factors and the way political problems of security, welfare and the constitutional order are handled. Rostow's own problem of explanation is thus compounded, and he fails to demonstrate that politics is economically determined (one of the difficulties in following his argument is his alternatively claiming so in a tentative way and then positively denying it, frequently on the same page) in part because the original framework of economic stages remains rickety. But whether in economics, history or politics, automaticity and predestination are sometimes stated, more often implied, and always retracted. His hopes are thus clearer than his demonstrations: in economics, the developing nations will essentially duplicate the "large-scale" past experiences of presently developed nations; in politics, world peace.

The opening wedge in economics for the irreversible trend of "modernization" was the Industrial Revolution. Its systematic, regular and progressive application of science and technology forever ended the cyclical pattern of history which characterized all pre-Newtonian societies. Perhaps—although a particularist might note that his total time scheme comprises a short two hundred years, while Rome spent four hundred on the "collapse" phase of her total cycle.

In any event, the salient take-off was England's which began in the 1780s (America's started in the 1840s and China's in the 1950s—which "aborted" 1958-68). The preconditions for take-off are always accelerated by "external intrusion"—Spaniards, Dutch and French in the English case, colonialism in that of many presently emerging nations. Besides intrusion by more advanced societies, there are economic example and pressure, and communication of ideas and skills. Thus there is "a kind of automatic slide in the direction of modernization set up by the nature of the forces which have fractured the traditional society"; nevertheless, the donees must change psychologically, adapt and transform the old culture to make it more compatible with modernization.

A tall order, and Rostow cheerfully admits it. The point, though, is that



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Memo to: You (if you do not now get
the Bulletin regularly)

Re: something new, something free -- an
"opportunity you won't want to miss"

This offer "extended" by price freeze - try it now!

"I just can't understand that," said this friend of mine (who knows the news business well). "With such a fantastically high renewal rate, why do you have any trouble finding new people to try it?"

I dunno, I told him (and I tell you too), but we do. Fact is, a great many of you have never tried the NR Bulletin* at all. Evidently I am only being accurate in saying that you don't know what you're missing, because those select friends who do try it love it, thus producing the impressive renewal statistics which so fascinated my friend. He said: "You're doing something wrong. Don't try to make them subscribe, just get them to try it -- the Bulletin will sell itself. Send 'em each a free copy, why don't you? Tell 'em 'here's an opportunity you won't want to miss' -- that kind of thing. You know." OK, he wins, and so do you. Just fill out and return the card facing this page.

It not only entitles you to a cut-rate introductory subscription to the Bulletin, it offers you an extra free issue to begin with. Here's the idea: you look over that free issue when it arrives; if you're not satisfied, then, when the bill arrives, just return it to us in the envelope provided, marked "Not satisfied: cancel" -- and we'll send no more copies. So you pay nothing (don't send check with order -- we'll bill you later) and risk nothing. Why do we make such a crazy offer, in which all the risk, etc., is ours? Simply because we're convinced you'll love the Bulletin, and are willing to put our faith to the test. The least you can do is take us up on it. OK?

*The Bulletin is the fortnightly newsletter published by National Review, Inc. (it appears on those weeks when the magazine itself is not published).

*The Bulletin specializes in short, crisply-written news items often "overlooked" by the regular press. The most popular section is "People" because it prints so much inside information about political personalities. M. Stanton Evans writes a column on national affairs. "Winston" is the pseudonym for the Bulletin's secret super-scoop who reports from Washington on the latest goings-on in the White House and on Capitol Hill.

*James Burnham edits a special "Abroad" column that features fascinating, unusual stories from overseas. The Bulletin packs a wealth of facts and information into a fast-reading, tightly-edited 8-page format. You should be reading the Bulletin regularly.

WFB.

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RANDOM NOTES

■ JUST OUT: Toynbee's recipe for *Surviving the Future* is Gandhi, the mysterious East and all that (Oxford, $5.95). . . . *The Mortgaged Heart* is a collection of Carson McCullers' essays, stories and verse (Houghton, $7.95). . . . Dickey, Ginsberg, Updike, Ferlinghetti and others all have a go at translating Yevtushenko in *Stolen Apples* (Doubleday, $7.95). . . . *Think Tanks* is Paul Dickson's research job on Rand et al. (Atheneum, $10). . . . David Ben-Gurion's *Israel: A Personal History* is big and detailed (Funk & Wagnalls, $17.50 to Dec. 31; then $20).

Cass Canfield, retired Harper boss and troglodyte liberal, out with his memoirs, *Up and Down and Around* ($8.95). The publisher, mirabile dictu, is a new Harper imprint called Harper's Magazine Press. . . . *The Horizon History of England,* by Cambridge lecturer R. J. White, is the first of a series of popular histories of foreign countries (American Heritage, $8.95). . . . Gay Talese's *Honor Thy Father* is a depth study of the M-f-a, with special attention to the family of Joseph ("Joe Bananas") Bonanno (World, $15). . . . In *The Fred Astaire/Ginger Rogers Book*, former *NR* editor Arlene Croce devotes one chapter to each of their ten incomparable musicals. Many photos from the films (Outerbridge & Dienstfrey, $10).

Adam Clayton Powell's autobiography, *Adam by Adam*, promises to be more candid than most pols' books (Dial, $7.95). From the same house, Hollis Alpert's novel, *The People Eaters*, is rumored to be about *New Yorker* folk. . . . Louis Auchincloss moves from New York novels to the biography of another New York novelist, *Edith Wharton* (Viking, $10). The same publisher touts Richard Collier's *Duce!* as a biography that draws on sources never before available in English ($12.50). . . . In 1940 W. C. Fields offered himself to The People in *Fields for President.* Dodd, Mead is reissuing the political classic ($5.95). By sheer coincidence, the same house lists *The Electric Mirror*, a study of TV newscasting by the ex-boss of that division at CBS, Sig Michelson ($8.95).

■ OCTOBER CHRISTMAS BOOKS. *Louis Agassiz Fuertes and the Singular Beauty of Birds* boasts sixty paintings in color and over ninety drawings (Harper, $29.95 to Jan. 1; then $35). . . . *Eyewitness to Space* illustrates 258 works on our space efforts by American artists (Abrams, $35). . . . Ronald Paulson's *Hogarth: His Life, Art and Times* appears in two volumes (Yale, $40). . . . George (*The Big Bands*) Simon collects his best in *Simon Says: The Sights and Sounds of the Swing Era, 1935-1955*, gets a score of bandleaders and singers to add comments today on his reviews from yesteryear (Arlington House, $14.95).

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neither the British nor American particular historical experience can tell us much of anything about what will happen in, say, the Congo or even Uruguay. The arbitrary assignment of "stages of growth" which disregards total national contexts is no universal scenario. Germany's period of preconditions occurred in 1713-1815 (his dates), when Germany was a high and powerful civilization. So was the United States in the 1840s, when its "take-off" was only starting. Most modern Latin Americans, having attained the "drive to technological maturity," are assigned a *higher* stage. Essentially, Rostow believes the new nations will follow the script of the old, including a congruence with further development everywhere. But it is extremely doubtful that any Latin American country will ever resemble, say, Great Britain at any "stage of growth" which might be logically recapitulated.

Rostow believes in that kind of convergence because he confuses social values and technology. "The efficient absorption of technologies carries with it powerful imperatives, social and political as well as economic." What this tautology overlooks is the precedence of powerful social and political imperatives in the efficient absorption of technologies. Salient attitudes and orientations toward man, God, science, time, toward the inherent worth of work, investment and saving, all had slowly developed in England *prior* to the Industrial Revolution. In Rostow's nonchronological scheme they are part of the English preconditions, and then are assigned to the take-off stage of modern developing nations. Despite occasional qualification, he really believes that the introduction of technology itself, especially the automobile, will *produce* the necessary and essential outlook.

Available evidence does not support such faith. Throughout most of the world old and new (in his terms) are not a dynamic interfusion; they are patchwork. Craftsmen in India worship the "gods" in their machines; machines and physical work are regarded with distaste by Marxist elites in many places; and tribal magic flourishes throughout most of Africa in sight of the runways of foreign-built airports.

Unlike Marx' final stage, Rostow's is not a final consummation of history placed in the future; it is already here, and what men now have they cannot regard as eschatological blessing. He is himself highly ambivalent about the worth of the "search for quality" stage, as well he might be. In one place he refers to it as the first real and major discontinuity in the life of man in industrial society, and offers advice about the solution of its problems, especially to our young rebels, who, he thinks, should turn from revolution and dropout to gradualism and ameliorative change. Whether "stage" or not, though, it should be obvious that whatever "quality" other peoples might seek will bear little resemblance to our own compromises of our own clashes of interest.

A HOPE FOR world peace completes the projection of economic history, in which earlier developed nations serve as forecast and guide to countries emerging in the twentieth century. But again, neither message nor prognosis is clear. "Perhaps the most powerful fact on the world scene is that the march of the stages of growth is operating to reduce" temptations to go to war "or palpably to raise the cost of succumbing to them." Of course "there is no automaticity here," but the strain toward democracy does make the arts of peace attractive, especially since invasion will become less popular and profitable when all nations face on their borders not weak neighbors but proud and developing ones. Should Soviet policy "unleash" the stage of high mass-consumption, Moscow, he says, might seek a manageable and safe environment for the Soviet Union rather than one directly dominated by it—if rationality reigns.

Having served as an influential foreign-policy adviser to Kennedy and Johnson, Professor Rostow is widely known to be a champion of resistance against Communist takeover in Southeast Asia. Communism, he says, must not be tempted to move into vacuums of power, a move that American support of regionalism, from Truman to Nixon, makes less likely. Possibly less well known is the Galbraithian cast of his thought on domestic matters. The New Deal and Great Society deserve high grades, although the changes therewith instituted were less sweeping than they might have been. We presently need wage-price guidelines. The "public phase" of the search for quality should take precedence over the private, and more public money should be spent to redress social injustice. □

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FICTION

Edsel
By Karl Shapiro
Bernard Geis, 308 pp., $6.95
Books Do Furnish a Room
By Anthony Powell
Little, Brown, 241 pp., $5.95
The Day of the Jackal
By Frederick Forsyth
Viking, 380 pp., $7.95

USES OF THE NOVEL

D. KEITH MANO

Edsel intimidated me in prospect. After all, Karl Shapiro had been anthologized in my high-school collection of *Immoral Poets* (so called when the *-tal* became dog-eared from its paperback cover). In an industry characterized by genteel incompetence, Bernard Geis has always impressed me with his gall and pragmatism. Moreover, the Crane Duplicating Service, producers of prepublication galley proofs, had admonished me in a stern foreword: "As to the shop who [sic] produced this proof, we do read. We recommend this book to you and feel sure that it will fulfill the hope of the makers." The bright image of all those wonderfully literate craftsmen enchanted me. I was, as I have said, intimidated.

Edsel Lazerow, as the first name suggests, has obsolesced. He is a noted American poet, by contemporary standards a most obsolescent profession. His recent work is sterile; he is both sexually impotent and sexually obsessed; he is a virtuoso of self-degradation. Lazerow endures life on a radicalized Midwestern campus with the patience and effectiveness of an Emmet Kelly sweeping spotlights under the rug. Lazerow is the Jewish clown: Bellow's Herzog out of Malamud's Levin. An otherwise rather clinical, distressing novel is elevated by Shapiro's great humor.

There is a certain syntax, or suggestion of tone, or character in much of the style that suffices to make a goy novelist gnash his teeth with envy. For instance: "Uta and I walked through the rain uphill to the castle of Frederick III, a slob king to build such a dreck" (p. 18). The Yiddish word isn't particularly operative: rather it's the shrug of shoulders, the opening of an uptilted palm implicit in the terse phrase after the comma. This is more developed in Malamud, who will use it to delightful effect even in the third person—as if his omniscient observer saw omnisciently from some vantage on Second Avenue. It must surely be convenient to have a natural style that incorporates not only tone, but hand gestures, slight raisings of an eyebrow. *Edsel*, in this tradition, is often a very amusing book.

It is also often a very lewd book. Otherwise, you can be certain, Bernard Geis Associates would not be associated. Lazerow's self-humiliation is largely sexual; he has become involved, against his better sense, with a gross, man-eating sexual athlete. He endures monstrous and graphic scenes of depravity in search of a staunch erection. At the last he discovers love and a good woman, learns not to hate himself, and the novel is ended with a healthy orgasm. In fact, but for the lewdness and the humor, there is a dangerous potential for sentimentality of the triter sort.

The novel implies a correspondence between neuter and neutrality, the former word used in its sexual connotations, the latter in its political connotations. Lazerow disassociates himself from a radical campus demonstration; as a result his career is destroyed. Shapiro sees this as the threshold he must cross to sexual health. The artist, the poet, the intellectual cannot remain passive when their culture is threatened. I was reminded at once of the 1968 Columbia riots. During the big bust, as students and faculty chanted "we'll burn this university down," I turned to a grey-bearded, anonymous professor and asked: "Are you going to burn it down?" "No," he said angrily, "I haven't the balls, but I hope someone does." Hoped what? That someone would put him out of a job; that someone would deny his sixty years' reason for existence. It was soul-suicide, the patented self-hatred of the intellectual. His ballslessness derived not from a refusal to act, but from a refusal to defend. *Edsel*, in the modern perspective, is almost a reactionary tract. Shapiro's scathing description of student radicals and the cynicism of their leaders is deeply, bitterly felt.

It will be interesting to note how this very well written, amusing and sometimes profound book is received by the liberal press. Lazerow's climactic, joyous orgasm occurs as the National Anthem is being played. The novel then closes with the flip tag, "never had I loved my country more." And, oddly enough, it is only half a joke.

BOOKS DO FURNISH A ROOM is the sort of novel that was supposed to have died an unnatural death some time ago. This is the tenth volume of Anthony Powell's leviathan series of twelve novels dealing with English life in the twentieth century. It is also my first experience of Powell. I felt, quite frankly, rather like someone invited to a strange upper-middle/lower-upper-class lawn party—I was treated with cool politeness, but I had no knowledge of and no interest in the encyclopedic catalog of friends and acquaintances mentioned constantly by the initiates present. I reciprocate with a coolness to the book. Even in such an ambitious series, individual novels should have their own structural completeness and integrity. This isn't really true of *Books Do Furnish a Room*. One would rather not spend $5.95 for a novel only to discover that $59.50 is required for a full understanding of the characters and events.

Powell's interest is comic. The characters are amiable eccentrics with semi-Trollopian names—Sillery, Bagshaw, Quiggin, Craggs. The plot centers on the founding and quick dissolution of a publishing house. There are amusing scenes, X Trapnel is a pleasing character, yet the whole is sketchy, disjointed and (to take up the author's own suggestion) remiss. Some of the fault is due, I think, to Powell's narrative device. The first person, Nicholas Jenkins, is virtually a cipher (doubtless his character, history and preferences are given in a previous book). Since the novel's entire action is related by him personally or to him in dialogue, Jenkins is subject to odd coincidences, and at times he appears to have run for blocks to witness intimate scenes that would ordinarily occur without witness. The narrative is fragmented, flashed back, flashed ahead.

Powell's period style, also supposed dead, is often charming and wise; it is, however, just as often tediously involved. " . . . while—an awkward point

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—to approach, as a civilian, even the exterior trimmings of the military machine, when making conversation with the professional who controlled some part of it, was to risk, if not a snub, conveying an impression of curiosity either impertinent, or stemming from personal connection with the Secret Service." I am probably being somewhat unfair. Yet I have the impression (given largely by the rave reviews of his other works on the jacket) that this is not nearly one of Powell's best novels. I will try another some day.

JUST one short paragraph on *The Day of the Jackal* by Frederick Forsyth. This is a very superior sort of suspense novel. Uniquely Forsyth has imagined an assassination attempt on M. le Président de Gaulle: fiction and history are melded into one intriguing substance. The detail is authentic; the style terse, journalistic. One roots helplessly both for the good guy and for the bad guy. And, happily, *Day of the Jackal* contains almost no female dialogue or love interest—an area of human experience that invariably dumbfounds and destroys practitioners of this genre. □

Guerrillas in Power: The Course of the Cuban Revolution
By K. S. Karol
Hill & Wang, 624 pp., $12.50
Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom
By Hugh Thomas
Harper, 1,696 pp., $20

WORKER'S PARADISE CUBAN STYLE

EDWIN McDOWELL

Three months after he came to power in Cuba, Fidel Castro undertook a widely publicized visit to the U.S. Even as his airplane touched down in Washington, his firing squads were executing large numbers of Cubans adjudged by "revolutionary tribunals" to be enemies of the state. But that seemed only to make Castro a more romantic figure—so much so that the New York public-relations agency handling his trip had to turn down innumerable requests from universities and social clubs that the guerrilla leader favor them with an appearance.

Nevertheless, Castro did visit with selected newspaper and magazine editors, spoke at Harvard and Princeton, and met with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. At every stop he was an immense success. Celebrities from the U.S. rushed to Cuba to embrace him and returned singing his praises. Networks vied to get him on their TV shows. Harvard sociologist Nathan Glazer was one of many who journeyed to Central Park to admire and applaud him (though "who knew what he was saying?" Glazer has since asked). No doubt about it, Castro was the man of the hour, the year, the decade. Here was a real-life revolutionary who had just overthrown a dictatorial regime, a figure of machismo and charisma who spoke in the accepted accents of the democratic Left, yet was not above pitching a few innings of baseball with his countrymen.

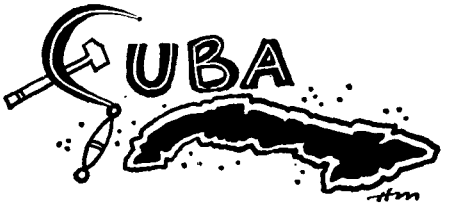
That was a dozen years ago. And, as the *Economist* Magazine so aptly put it recently, the Cuban revolution ever since "has been shedding admirers like autumn leaves . . ."

K. S. Karol, a Polish-born Marxist who served in the Red Army and spent time in Russian prisons, has visited Cuba four times since Castro's takeover. For although he had become disillusioned by Stalinist terror and misery, he could not rid himself of his Marxist enchantment. If he could not find the worker's paradise in Europe, perhaps he could find it in the Caribbean, where Marxism was blended with a rumba beat.

THAT IS WHAT makes his book so indicting. For although by his own admission he still regards Cuba's as one of the best and most hopeful revolutions, and although the aim of his tome is clearly to justify Cuban Communism, he is remarkably candid about the disparity between the promise and the performance. Indeed, Karol makes it clear that Cuban society is totalitarian, that its neighborhood Committees of Defense serve a solely repressive function, that Castro's schizophrenic leadership has caused social demoralization, and that the island nation has been manipulated and exploited by Soviet Russia. That judgment, to repeat, comes from a friend and admirer of the Cuban revolution.

British historian Hugh Thomas, another man of the Left (he is a former Labor candidate for Parliament), also has visited Cuba frequently since 1961. He too shared the early faith and hope in Castro. Nevertheless, his book, despite some vacillation and a sometimes maddening refusal to draw the inevitable conclusions from the harsh facts he presents, also adds up to an overwhelming indictment of the Castro regime.

One reason it does so is that the author (who also wrote the disinterested *The Spanish Civil War*) bends



over backward to be fair—to recount Cuba's turbulent history, to describe its pre-Castro economic dependence on the U.S., to explain its precarious dependence on one product (sugar), and to describe the patronizing attitude of ignorant and tactless American tourists. Furthermore, Thomas cites the accomplishments of the Castro regime. Yes, there have been accomplishments. Most people, particularly the *campesinos*, probably eat better than ever. Educational statistics—enrollment, numbers of schools etc.—are impressive. The national health level is probably higher. Unemployment has declined. Officials do not view power in terms of Swiss bank accounts.

But there is a lack of consumer goods. Queues for food and other essentials are common. "Voluntary" labor has spawned absenteeism and low productivity. Persons in power live better than ordinary Cubans. Food production since 1959 has fallen behind the population increase. All students have to take a year's course in dialectical materialism, spend fifteen days a year in a military camp, serve a number of hours a week in the militia, and work at "productive" (i.e., manual) labor.

Furthermore, the regime has persecuted homosexuals and sent miniskirted girls and long-haired men to forced labor camps. It has executed thousands. It keeps political prisoners in appalling conditions and tortures them. (The International Human Rights Commission recently reported that some ninety thousand Cubans—almost one in every hundred persons—are political prisoners subjected to such mistreatment and that as many as twenty thousand have died

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or been executed.) It searches houses without warrant, uses a secret police network, has neither a constitution nor habeas corpus, and is as bloody a regime as those of Eastern Europe. Indeed, Karol says flatly that Cuba has "the kind of 'Communism' that prevailed in Russia during the Thirties"—in other words, Stalinism in all its terror, including the cult of personality.

The *New York Times* last year estimated that Cuba has proportionately the largest number of political prisoners in the world. It also has one of the highest proportions of exiles. Nevertheless, leftists in any number of countries continue to defend it for its "revolutionary vision" and aims—even though, as Thomas notes, by every social and economic measurement, capitalist Japan is far more revolutionary, prosperous and free.

"Those who admire the social advances made under the revolution," notes Thomas, "must consider the brutality of the jailers, the arbitrary character of an unpredictable but ubiquitous tyranny, the tedium of an inefficient bureaucratic state, and the melancholy of a society where eccentricity and private experiment ('the sad coloring of submission') . . . is damned."

IT'S ODD that many of the people who so widely scorned Mussolini even though he made the trains run on time, or who (in relation to South Africa's Bantu, for example) point out that liberty and freedom require more than a full stomach, have hailed the Castro experiment—as many of them hailed Stalin's and Mao's experiments—because of what they conceive to be its progressive social features. But, Professor Thomas notes, health and education are only aids to the good life, the good life itself is a society where truth is not abused, where people are not oppressed. And Cuba, he says, is a thoroughgoing dictatorship ruled by a group of armed men, moved by a common faith, who seized power and decreed that they are the state.

One of the few moments of levity in these two massive books is in Thomas' recital of how Castro & Co. hoodwinked *New York Times* correspondent Herbert L. Matthews. Matthews, who created the legend of Castro as the social democrat and agrarian reformer, also greatly exaggerated the number of Castro guerrillas (thereby helping to attract urban Cubans to the Castroite cause). That large guerrilla force he wrote about, in dispatches from Castro's hideout in the Sierra Maestra, was actually the same eighteen guerrillas—the remnants of Castro's original 82-man force—whom Raul Castro kept parading at intervals in front of the veteran correspondent.

Over-all, both books add up to grim evidence that the fond hope of a dozen years ago—of a "new socialist man" untainted by cupidity and ambition, eager to serve the state and all mankind—has been dashed as cruelly in Cuba as in every other Marxist state . . . and at virtually the same cost in terror and oppression. □

MEN AND IDEAS

"Obscene" Literature and Constitutional Law
By Theodore Schroeder
Da Capo reprint, 424 pp., $15

Constitutional Free Speech Defined and Defended
By Theodore Schroeder
Da Capo reprint, 456 pp., $19.50

COMSTOCK'S NEMESIS

DAVID BRUDNOY

Theodore Schroeder was born in Wisconsin in 1864, educated at the University in Madison and on the road in various laborer's jobs. In 1889 he settled in Utah to practice law. He soon became active in Democratic politics, in the Unitarian church, and eventually in combating Mormonism, which he saw as unconstitutionally theocratic in practice and "infantile" in doctrine. Ten years of living with and fighting the Mormons were enough for him—and for them: and after capping his anti-Mormon crusade by successful work in the fight to keep a polygamous congressman-elect, Brigham Roberts, from taking his seat in Washington, Schroeder moved to New York in 1901, remaining there and in Stamford, Connecticut until his death in 1953.

When Schroeder came to Manhattan, Anthony Comstock reigned supreme as the outstanding opponent of vice. Comstock saw himself as waging relentless war against the "hydra-headed monster of obscenity . . . the greatest curse to the youth of this country . . . a deadly poison, cast into the fountain of moral purity," as he put it in one of his less florid passages. Under Comstock's leadership, anti-vice societies sprang up across America, and in 1873 Congress enacted into law the statute which commonly bears his name, prohibiting the dissemination of obscene matter through the mails. For decades thereafter, the First Amendment prohibition of laws abridging the freedom of speech and of the press was interpreted by the courts as not applying to "obscenity," a commodity loosely defined if defined at all. Freedom of speech, de facto and de jure, came to mean freedom of clean speech only.

A CRUCIAL ISSUE in the question of freedom of expression is this: How can a nation keep discussion wide open while still protecting the other individual and social interests so desirable, even necessary, in a just society? To determine exactly the public interest in protecting moral norms and moral character, and to know how best to serve that interest, are seemingly insoluble problems, as troublesome now as at the turn of the century. The ultra-libertarian, like Schroeder, demands only freedom, while the super-moralist, like Comstock, recognizes only restraint and limitation. The libertarian believes the First Amendment prohibits any censorship of obscenity and that obscenity is not harmful to most people. The moralist retorts that the First Amendment was not intended to protect obscenity, and that obscenity is an objective reality, an insidious evil.

Some sixty years ago, the positions thus stated were best represented by Comstock, who had the temper of the times with him, and Schroeder, who stood nearly alone. Within a few years after settling in New York, Schroeder had founded the Free Speech League, a precursor of the American Civil Liberties Union; and with all his energies, and using his own money, he had begun a career of writing and court litigation designed to combat comstockery and to propound a more humane society. Obscenity, he wrote, was not an objective thing, "not a sense-perceived quality of literature or art, but is only distinguishable by the likeness of particular emotions associated with an infinite variety of mental images." In short, to Schroeder, obscenity existed only in the minds of those who believed in it: a "twin of witchcraft."

Schroeder's tack was a curious blend of reason and emotion, valuable research and dubious assertion. No one, after all, has scientifically defined "obscenity," and Schroeder emphasized

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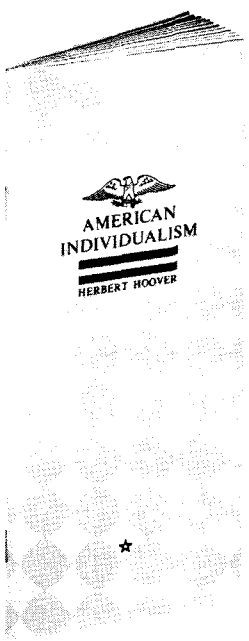
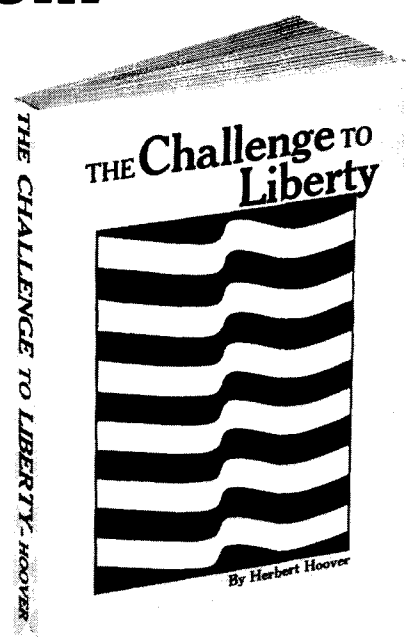
Special Message for Friends of Freedom



More than half a century ago, people everywhere were trying to recover from the devastating effects of World War I. Using his combined talents of engineering and management, Herbert Hoover organized a gigantic program for feeding the starving peoples of Europe. Returning to America, he put down on paper the spiritual, economic and political characteristics which enabled Americans to produce the materials needed to bring peace to the world and at the same time to discharge the social and spiritual commitment to give economic assistance to the people ravaged by war. The result of this research was published in 1922. (Doubleday-Page) in a book entitled *American Individualism*. It has been reprinted to help young people who are searching to identify their individual roles in society.



Thirty-seven years ago there was considerable doubt in this country that the private enterprise system of risks and rewards was adequate to cope with the problems besetting this nation. Thoughtful people in and out of government were disillusioned and dissatisfied with the system which had resulted in more freedom for more people than any other time in history.

This paradox perplexed the author and he researched the various alternate systems available to Americans should they decide to scrap capitalism. The result of his research was published in 1934 (Scribners) in a book titled *The Challenge to Liberty*.

The Trustees of the Herbert Hoover Foundation have reprinted these books with the hope that thoughtful people may wish to order copies for their employees, customers, members of their families, educators, clergymen, political representatives and others who want to benefit from a study of the past in order to seek solutions to the problems of today.

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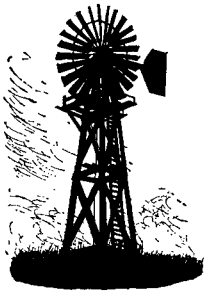
this effectively. On the other hand, his interpretations of constitutional and common law history were often more whimsy than wisdom The libertarianism *v.* authoritarianism argument, on this as on many other issues, went on so long, and continues so vigorously, because the hard wood of fact is often very elusive. Schroeder believed all genuine modesty to be the manifestation of excessive sensuality. From that he inferred that modesty leads on to prudery, which gives rise to acute "eroto-phobia," which always leads to the attempt to suppress sex; that is, to censorship. It was a stirring thought, a daring thought. Sigmund Freud, Havelock Ellis and others have also dug their furrows deep in that lush garden. But it simply admits of no final proof.

Schroeder insisted on his psychosexual interpretation, especially after undergoing psychoanalysis in 1914. He was concerned not only with the often oppressive laws, but also with the psychology of those who made and enforced them. He wrote voluminously: hundreds of articles, a half-dozen books. Two of his major studies from his heyday in the teens have been reissued, at a time when the Schroederian dictum has entirely triumphed in one country, Denmark, and seems well on its way to victory in America as well. When Comstock died in 1915, Schroeder's challenge was just beginning to receive attention. But even forty years later, when Schroeder died, comstockery had the last, bitter laugh. Schroeder's will, leaving his estate to friends for the purpose of publishing his works in a uniform edition, was broken on petition of two distant and hitherto unknown cousins. The Connecticut judges ruled Schroeder's trust invalid, because it aimed at the publication of works which were "pornographic," "contrary to public policy," "reek[ing] of the sewer." The ruling was cruelly ironic and terribly unjust, for in his way, Schroeder was as prim a Victorian as Comstock.



On the appearance of *"Obscene" Literature and Constitutional Law*, one legal journal observed that only time would tell whether Schroeder would be classified as a genius or a crank. But Schroeder's significance cuts deeper than those alternatives, which are too value-laden to get at the heart of the matter. Schroeder's contribution was as an innovator, an inspirer, a pathfinder, whose works Da Capo Press now make available to a greatly expanded audience. Whatever one may think of his viewpoint, a Schroeder Renaissance will not be long in coming. When it comes, Schroeder's faith in the propriety and inevitability of an absence of any limitation on obscenity will at last be vindicated. What that will mean for America we can, at present, only guess. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

LORD PALMERSTON, *by Jasper Ridley (Dutton, 689 pp., $12.50).* To really appreciate Lord Palmerston, one must first conjure up a pallid reflection of the only slightly less pallid figure of Dean Rusk and then ponder it for as long as your digestion permits. Having done so, turn to Jasper Ridley's new study of a real statesman, and savor the contrast. Because of its size, one is tempted to call Mr. Ridley's biography of Palmerston monumental. However, a better word might be monstrous, for, like some unfortunate giant with a glandular imbalance, it is lopsided—an exhaustive compilation of Palmerston lore, good, bad and indifferent. Yet Palmerston himself is an engaging figure—a bright aristocrat whose chauvinism was of the benign sort and whose brinkmanship was almost always judicious ("Palmerston can never resist shaking his fist in the face of anyone he is not afraid of. If they show fight he runs away," wrote one contemporary). He was a great, if flawed, nineteenth-century statesman; he enjoyed life; he loved his country; and, all things considered, he served her fairly well. Mr. Ridley's book makes for good wading if you are not very familiar with the period. Once you've gotten the hang of it, caught your breath and accustomed yourself to the cold-water style, you may even find the deep end rewarding. Whether you do or not, I promise you you'll like the subject himself. Any man capable of annoying as mixed a bag of busybodies as Cobden, the Prince Consort, Lord Cardigan and Karl Marx can't have been all bad. A. BAKSHIAN

OURSELVES, *by Jonathan Strong, (Little, Brown, 228 pp., $5.95).* A youth novel written by a very young man. (From his picture he might belong to one of our more respectable rock groups. Actually he teaches at Tufts.) The characters grow their hair, shop the Goodwill for easy chairs and huddle on them reading *Torrents of Spring* but somehow they manage to do it in the prose style of Somerset Maugham. The narrator, Xaiver Fereira, a Harvard graduate who is usually unemployed, recounts with a very low-keyed anguish the activities of his roommate and his roommate's girl. Xaiver loves the girl and hates himself which accounts for the anguish, but nothing very dramatic comes of it. Although the novel is competently written with an interesting seesaw ending (the stable roommate grows unstable, the unstable narrator—you know), it's thin and not very memorable. Still, a young man could do worse than to look to Somerset Maugham. And incredible as it may sound, there is not one—I swear to you, not one—pot-smoking scene. But most important, after reading the current crop of tastelessly explicit youth things, it's nice to come on a passage like: "Susannah [the roommate's bride] came over to me, smiled the most mysterious of her smiles, and threw her white laced arms around me, saying, 'Oh, Xavy, sweet old Xavy!' How can I put this delicately? I responded, well, physiologically to her embrace." P. S. COYNE

INSIDE—PRISON AMERICAN STYLE, *edited by Robert J. Minton, Jr. (Random House, 325 pp., $7.95).* From New Jersey to Florida to Minnesota to California the cons are writing and telling their stories. Through fiction, poetry, autobiography and collections of letters, some as tender and beautiful as a rose petal, others as harsh and brutal as their authors' homes, the reading public is being given an unprecedented glimpse into the prisons. *Inside—Prison American Style* is the latest and perhaps the best of these prison-spawned books. In a series of personal accounts and reports written by anonymous San Quentin inmates (their identities concealed to shield them from reprisals, official or otherwise) the reader is taken behind the walls, behind the official press releases and committee whitewashes, behind the bars and into the cells and workshops where murder, extortion, homosexual rape, and a rigid caste system are the facts of daily life, where the agonies of sexual starvation and loneliness are the inmates' constant companions. Anyone who wonders why our prisons have failed, why society can count itself lucky if a man leaves prison merely unchanged, merely as bitter and antisocial as the day he entered, owes it to himself to read these stories of men forced to live in worlds of concrete and steel, where the rules often seem written by Kafka, administered by Eichmann, and designed to benefit no one. Reader reactions will vary. Some who would prefer not to know will be upset by the atrocities committed daily in society's name; others may turn away in disgust, refusing to face the awful truth that those we call "criminals" are human beings who think, feel, laugh, love, weep and bleed like the rest of us; still others will be outraged and ashamed. But one thing every reader will have in common with every other reader—he will not be able to forget it. E. SMITH

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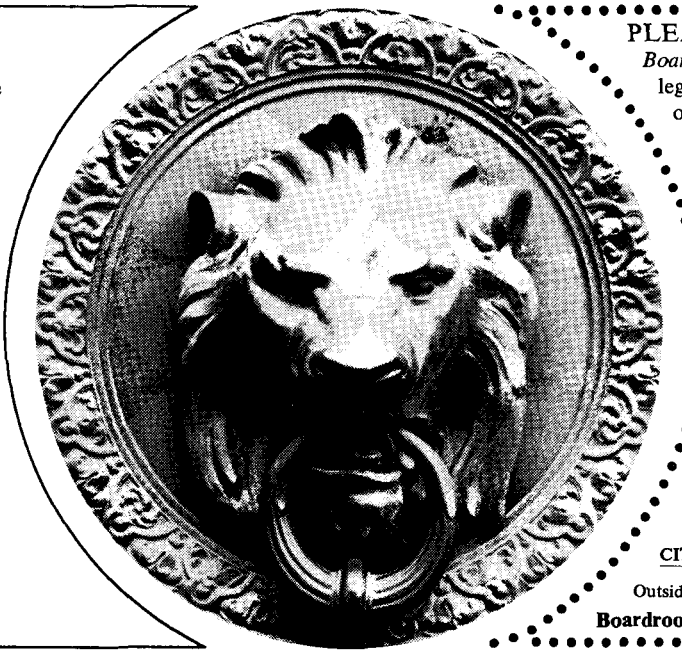

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Arts & Manners

PLACES

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

To Southeast Asia—with Reservations

Saigon—This must be the noisiest city in the world, bar none. Every bar girl, secretary and office boy has at least a Honda. The amount of noise is as incredible as it is intolerable. I understand they are using bicycles in Hanoi: My first day in Saigon strongly inclines me to the North Vietnamese viewpoint, at least in this respect.

How did it happen? Well, I am told that West Germany actually offered buses as a gift. But Saigon's government preferred to buy Korean ones for the sake of rich kickbacks not obtainable from Germany. Unmaintained, and shoddy to begin with, the buses fell apart after two years. Meanwhile, a strong bus "union" had sprung up and swore that it would not permit bus service—government or private—unless it was, without any investment, cut in on the ownership. And needless to say, it threatened to sabotage and destroy any buses that disregarded the "union's" orders.

So Saigon, a big and sprawling city, has no public transportation whatsoever (apart from minitaxis). Whereupon some bright person—rumored to be an American—decided that the huge "inflationary" dollar surplus then available would best be absorbed by importing Japanese motorcyles, which would also give people "something to work for." God may have mercy on his soul. I can't. The trees are dying on the broad avenues. Can people survive the fumes? Anyway, Saigon is a nerve-racking city.

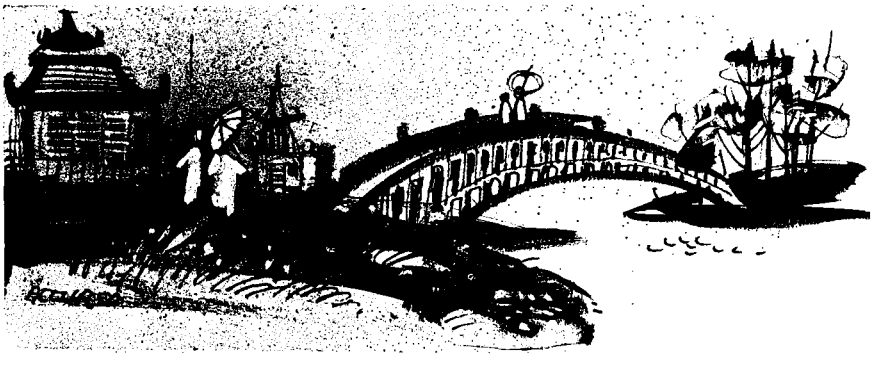
The lesson: we had better take responsibility for what we are doing, or permitting. Failing to do so, we'll be held responsible anyway for the sins we did not prevent and which our resources made possible. Rightly so. It is technically very easy to "sterilize" a dollar surplus, so that it does not become inflationary, by means other than increasing imports. But the tale I have told is unfortunately characteristic of our indecisive over-combination of action and inaction in South Vietnam. Our presence makes certain things possible (including new types of corruption). Yet we do not interfere, feeling that after all these are not our affairs. The total effect, however, is that our money, resources etc. are incredibly mismanaged and that, in the eyes of the Vietnamese, we appear to sanction the corruption we cause, even if we do not approve of it.

VIENTIANE—What a pleasant place, pleasant people. To be sure they are not "efficient"; but I doubt they want to be: and they may be entirely right. Marijuana—I am told it's the best—is sold at 25 cents per pound on the public market. But who (Americans excepted) wants it? The atmosphere is pleasant, relaxed and does everything marijuana promises if one just breathes the air. It is hot, though, and most Americans condition, i.e., Americanize, the air, thus producing the American climate in which they will live.

I had always thought of Americans as the least parochial of peoples. We do live in a pluralistic society with many ethnic cultures. But Americans are extremely parochial in a temporal sense. They cannot do—and they cannot understand that anyone else can do—without the comforts, the conveniences and, above all, the ideology and motivation which spring from the Industrial Revolution. Life without refrigerators, TV, air conditioning, efficiency, activity is inconceivable. And I mean inconceivable. Those who accept such a life are regarded as less than human. What could be more parochial?

Here, nonetheless, a valiant effort has been made to overcome this prejudice. The Laotian defense against the North Vietnamese—the indigenous rebels are a minor force—though supported by us, has remained Laotian. In the short run this has meant taking great risks. In the long run I am convinced it will be better for all concerned. (The Ho Chi Minh Trail is an exception, but it is part of the Vietnam war—entirely occupied by North Vietnam, entirely bombed by us.)

I AM GOING to a day-long charity fête for refugees. There are groups of young Meo tribesmen and girls. The girls are dressed to kill and look sweet. They all wear around their necks heavy and elaborate silver collars, several, sometimes embossed. It looks interesting but must be uncomfortable. Dress seldom is functional the world over. The young children play with tops as I did as a child. Their games are competitive and they are more skilful than ever I was: They make their tops dance and jump in a field—I didn't do half as well on asphalt.



How peaceful it all seems. How much one wishes that war could spare these sweet-natured people. The young Meo boys and girls array themselves in

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lines opposite each other. They throw a ball, made of some not very resilient material, at each other, catch it, throw it back. All in a rather dignified way with occasional furtive and charming smiles. After touring the whole, vast grounds I come back, and they are still at it. I am told it is their way of courting. Obviously, there are subtleties I don't understand. Yet, there is an idea that cannot be denied: How much inane repartee could I have spared myself, had I been a Meo—and been allowed on my dates to keep the conversational ball rolling in this more literal and effortless way. I hate to leave Laos.

Hong Kong—This big and beautiful city has problems that dwarf those of New York: an explosive racial mixture; immense overcrowding; an influx of several hundred refugees a week from the Chinese mainland; overwhelming problems of housing, welfare, education. . . . Yet all these problems are under control. Nobody starves. No riots. Children, well-disciplined, are in schools, actually learning to read and write. Traffic, though dense, is orderly and keeps moving. There is a great deal of residential building. The homicide rate is high but it seems to involve largely gangsters murdering each other. One is quite safe walking the streets, even in disreputable neighborhoods. I tried it. I was approached, to be sure, all the time by various characters inviting me to fascinatingly diverse and obscene activities. They were endangering my morals and, if successful, possibly my health; but they never endangered *me*.

Best of all Hong Kong, with low taxation, has a *surplus*. That's right, a surplus in its government budget. I'm envious. Perhaps we should all collect money and give Mayor Lindsay a scholarship to study administration in Hong Kong. (It would have the additional advantage of his absence from New York.) Hong Kong streets are clean . . .

Bangkok—If it's a comfort, things can go badly even without much help from us. Within a short time this has become a sprawling, ugly city of three million people with about as many traffic difficulties as New York has with eight. I am told, however, there are cities nearby of great antiquity and beauty. I can't find out because I am getting pneumonia. If you have to get pneumonia I recommend Bangkok. I had a nicer room at the hospital than at the Siam Intercontinental Hotel, with a terrace and a garden. It was cheaper, too! The nurses are pretty in the bargain, my physician was competent and the service was excellent. I would have enjoyed it all if I hadn't been so sick. (Incidentally, I didn't see a single Siamese cat in Siam. They must all have migrated to New York.)

Taipei—I am tired of official guides, of embassy and government officials. (And, above all, of planes.) All have been very kind, but still. . . . So this is a private visit. It turns out to be a disaster. The virus does not improve my temper. Still, I can't see why anyone would ever volunteer to be a tourist. That I do not understand the language or know anything about the city makes me utterly dependent on those who make it their business to serve tourists. Wherefore I am shunted from one tourist spot to another, which makes me feel packaged or as if I were part of a herd of cattle being taken to a watering spot. Somehow, from this strictly tourist perspective, even things of intrinsic beauty become flat, one-dimensional, reduced to postcard size—to clichés. I know too little about this town to find anybody or anything on my own that I would enjoy.

So that is why soldiers on leave go to bars or take heroin—and why middle-aged tourists spend their time shopping or talking about food and planes and hotels. Time hangs too heavy on their hands. Nothing more depressing than to be among people whose language you don't understand and whom you see but will never know; you are not really here since you are aware that you will be leaving the next day. You are nowhere. A tourist feels protected, but also excluded and isolated from the life which rushes on around him. He pays to look in from the outside, without understanding or, finally, interest. Anyone who enjoys being a tourist must have a very unhappy home life. Is that why tourism is increasing? □

STYLES

DOUGLAS ANDERSON

Meditations on a Hitchhiking Ticket

At the time, I was walking backward through the bus stop beside a high school, hitchhiking. Already I was ten minutes late to a T. S. Eliot seminar: that was because I overslept; that was because I got to bed late; that was because the hitchhiking trip back to Denver from D.C. had run 46 instead of the customary 35 to 40 hours—most of the way at twenty degrees, and with few rides over two hundred miles.

A car stopped and silently beckoned. But this was no ride. No door opened.

I got the neatly printed ticket, for "soliciting a ride," from two courteous, efficient city patrolmen, who were doing what anyone sensitive to the choices he must make (when he makes them) knows to be a difficult job. While one wrote the ticket, I asked if it would be disrespectful to make a little joke.

"Go ahead."

I said I had done quite a bit of hitchhiking; had ridden with drunks, crooks and homosexuals; had never once been either the victim or the instrument of physical injury; and these two gentlemen had just become the first to come off the road to impose upon my style of traveling, indeed to find it a violation of somebody's law.

"Style of traveling": hitchhiking is only one gesture of it, and the gesture points behind itself. When you hang out a thumb, you start by giving things up. There's a line in the song, "Me and Bobbie McGee":

"Freedom's just another word for nothin' left to lose. . . ."

I recommend the experience to anyone who has not come by that perception in other ways. I think every man is, to an extent, a hitchhiker on the highway—a spiritually poor man going on foot, and with little worth bringing to life beyond a willingness to accept and increase the common trust.

The primary thing by which hitchhikers, and those who stop for them, survive, *is* trust. And hitchhiking is per-

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haps the single most successful example of mutual trust in the world.

It involves a basic existential choice. Two men, on a plain concrete set, say to each other, with one voice, anonymously, "It's a gift. We choose to accept it, to share affections, loneliness, food and difficulties, even at the expense of mutual discomfort. Our love is stronger than fear, our generosity greater than private needs. You are only a passing face without a name: And I not only call you brother; I will interrupt my journey; I am committed to do something about it here and now."

There are violations. And as in many cases, media distortion of the acts of perhaps two hundred makes people fear another two million. Compared to its rate of occurrence elsewhere, aggressive selfishness among hitchhikers is almost negligible.

I can't overemphasize the importance of what one of the officers said just before he drove away: "*What you do is up to you.* But if we see you out here hitchhiking, even a block away, we'll cite you again." He smiled—"Good luck"—and we simultaneously tipped our hats to each other.

I continued thumbing. The car circled, attempting to get me a second time. I anticipated, saw them first, and returned to the sidewalk.

Then I thought, "Well, maybe this ticket is a moral telegram. This hitchhiking statute is a *true* law; not just a public expedient to justify economic lust or compulsive butchery, but a law in conformity with the principles of the universe. You've overstepped the bounds, and it's time to get back in line."

But a second voice would not remain silent: "No. You are not in violation of the law, the law is in violation of people. For the very nature of true law was taught you by hitchhiking: that self-assertion is effective only when it works in harness with a natural dependence upon others."

After the car passed, I continued hitching. But then there was another car, and this one saw me first.

"Let's see some ID."

I produced a valid driver's license. "What's the problem?"

"You were hitchhiking."

"No sir, and here's proof." I showed the ticket. "Just got it, five blocks back."

"I saw you hitchhiking."

"Man, I'm trying to get downtown as fast as I can. Late to school. And you know what the bus service is in this town—figured I could *walk* there quicker. I was crossing an intersection. Just turned to see if the bus was coming."

"If you were waiting for a bus, you'd be at a bus stop. You were hitchhiking."

"Sir, I wouldn't presume to tell you you're wrong, but—"

"Damn right you won't. *I* know what I see and—"

"I *told* you—no disrespect intended, sir—you're telling me what you saw, and I'm telling you what I did. I was crossing an intersection."

The officer then lectured freely with four-letter words, and offered to take me directly to jail.

I did not feel inclined to lose my temper: first, because I knew I was pushing a lie; second, because he appeared not altogether reluctant to substitute the club for the gavel. I looked him in the eyes and smiled. He released another mouthful of dim garbage, handed back the license, and drove away.

His partner remained silent all this time, but gave me once that particular glance which unmistakably conveys, "I see through your lie, and I'm on your side anyway. But *he*'s the man behind the wheel, and I don't dare interfere."

I continued hitchhiking until a bus came. Ordinarily, I can't afford the fare. This time it happened I could. Otherwise, I'd have continued walking, and hitching, and (I suppose) collecting tickets, till I got where I was going.

And apparently I would have collected more tickets. The first officer said: "We've been instructed to bear down on this pretty hard." I needn't have asked where the order originated: Seems like every time our DA gets a little bad press, or a Sunday-morning analysis by one of the city's copout ministers, he gets even (or at least he must think so) by harassing the young.

One paradox in the hitchhiking statute is that for a first offense it fines $5 from people who can't afford a 40-cent ride. Another is that the prime element of the current American lifestyle is mobility. Hitchhiking is not only the *only* way some people can travel, for many it is the best way to get a feeling for the vast human currents that flow both ways on every interstate highway in the country. Besides, it's often outright joyous.

And if the statute is not a violation of the Constitution, it ought to be. It reduces every citizen's freedom to associate mutually and voluntarily with whom he pleases. I was cited neither while in, nor while getting into or out of, anyone's car, but while standing by a curb with my thumb out. Under most laws, a crime must be *committed* before anyone is considered "criminal." I was ticketed not for an action, but for the *intent* to contract a voluntary, non-obligatory agreement with another human being.

A hitchhiker adds one person to the road, and subtracts one car. Seventy-four per cent of Denver's air pollution is automobile exhaust. More than half the moving cars I've seen carry only the driver. If those people all at once reversed their habits in favor of communal transportation, the auto and petroleum industries would suffer so severely as to precipitate a second Great Depression.

The road has taught me more—and more humanely, roughly, patiently and deeply—than any other school or set of experiences in my life. I can understand why *state* patrolmen should stop interstate hitchhikers, *check* ID and, when they find fugitives, take them in, or, when they see traffic hazards, remove them. I have often been checked in this way, and to this extent of enforcement, the law is humane and sensible.

But this handing out of summonses, within a city, to the city's children and students and harmless hippies, is unnecessarily punitive and transparently contrary to natural law. Whether or not the law's makers foresaw the consequences of its misuse, this kind of enforcement irritates resentment and disrespect for authority.

(Afterthought: First, hitchhiking is only one way to the knowledge I advocate. Second, the road yields many more, and perhaps equally valid, kinds of knowledge besides the one specified. Third, once the road has given what it will, or what any particular traveler can receive, then it is meant to be left—economic circumstances permitting.

(That may have been the "moral telegram": not that I overstepped, but that I continue to hold the harvest beyond fruition. I think I'm about through hitchhiking.) □

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BROOKHISER

(Continued from page 1056)

quences happened not to be immediately disastrous. There were doubtless sound political reasons for a negotiation between them, hard, practical points that had to be picked over and thrashed about: Russia had been in and out of European affairs before, and would be in and out again. But these were not the reasons which drew the Czar to meet Napoleon in person: Napoleon was a force, Napoleon was something elemental—he was a totem of the Romantics, he held a place in their pantheon; he had dazzled everyone on the Continent, Goethe, Hegel, even (for a time) Beethoven—and Alexander rode on his raft to the center of the river, not to talk nitty-gritty, but to have his head filled with schemes of grandeur and an Eastern empire. He was shortly to be disillusioned; he had grasped at opportunity and caught only danger. That he was able finally to withstand the danger may have been a tribute to his own Romantic qualities; at the Congress of Vienna, he was chivalrous enough to plead for Napoleon's life. But he no longer thought of dealing on equal terms with the Emperor—he had learned that much.

There are just some types you can't talk to. Reconciliation is possible and old hatreds can be broken up and wiped away: It was logical that the United States should eventually become friendly with England, logical that England should become friendly with France, logical that France and England should become friendly with (West) Germany. But some nations and leaders cannot be talked to; some nations and leaders establish themselves

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[James M.] Roche:

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on the far side of chasms that have nothing to do with prejudice or politics. They embrace insanity and repudiate civilization; they are outside the pale and there can be no reconciliation with them.

This is something a Romantic can never really believe, because he believes most strongly in the goodness of men. There is no man so far gone that he cannot be coaxed back, there is no nation so blind that it cannot see the light. To the Romantic it is inconceivable that men could send a nation down an unalterably wicked course, or that they could allow themselves to be ruled by a state rooted in intractable hatred. History tells us otherwise, but do we believe it? The Nazi ovens and engines of death are thirty years old—do we really believe it? We have all read *Brave New World* and *1984*, but have we understood them? Do we—does Richard Nixon—realize that 1984 is not thirteen years away, but now? and thirty years ago? and always? There are some people you cannot talk with, but the Romantic, so long as he remains one, never quite sheds his faith in the "spirit of Man."

The Romantic is held by a breathless vision—he does not pause to ask if the trees are pines, or even if there is a path down to the forest—he is struck by the unity, by the harmony of the impression, by the glittering, sumptuous, splendiferous whole. His vision is of a great choir, of the great harmony of all things. He does not know that not everyone can join in the singing—some have only indifferent voices, but that does not matter, the Romantic can never come to serious grief on workaday problems—but some have no desire to sing, some hate it, some lust for destruction in favor of their own cacophonous visions—these cannot be in the choir. World cooperation is fine, but it can never be universal; whether you trace it back to Adam and Eve, or to some African genesis, à la Robert Ardrey, there are some people you cannot talk to. The Congress of Vienna got along without Napoleon; the United Nations was originally the name of the alliance designed to crush Hitler.

Mr. Nixon, if he goes to China, will not give them the state of California. He is still the man most conservatives voted for in 1968, he is still Tricky Dick; he was never a fool. But China has caught his imagination; I think it has struck a spark off the Romantic flint that lies deep in his soul. There are a hundred reasons why he may never make the trip, there is every chance that it will be materially unproductive—from the Communist point of view. But the project has captured him —it has elements of greatness, it is something to win elections with, something to celebrate bicentennials with, something to commend his Quaker soul to God and posterity. And the strength of the vision will increase as he comes closer to it; the nearer he comes to collision with it, the more he will be confirmed in it. Surely he himself rose from the depths—surely he bounced back from two great defeats and an awful press conference to become President of the United States. Surely history did not let him beat all the odds without laying out *some* destiny, some *purpose* . . .

Maybe it's all a fantasy. Maybe I'm reading something into it and the words came too easily. Blessed are the peacemakers. Let us pray. □

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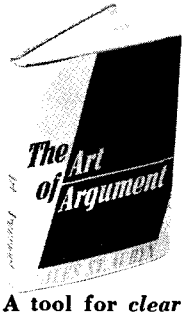

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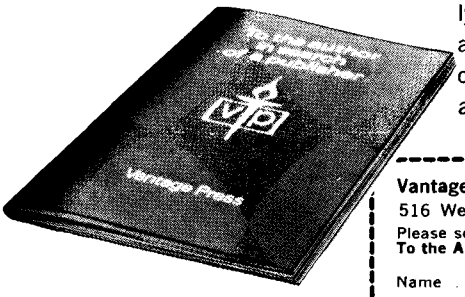

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

On The Right

Trials of Office

New York, Aug. 31—The sequence, allowing certain liberties in presentation, is approximately as follows.

A Democratic President, elected by the largest plurality in American history, presents a program to a Democratic House of Representatives and a Democratic Senate which calls for huge federal expenditures for military and domestic programs. Five years later, the Democratic President withdraws, and in the ensuing election a Republican is elected who pledges to put an end to deficit spending and to inflation. At that election, the voters return a majority of Democrats to Congress.

The Republican President announces a program which, he assures the American people, will bring about both an end to inflation, and a decrease in the unemployment which began to soar when the decision was reached to slow down the war.

Approximately two and one-half years go by. The Republican President, who had attacked the deficit spending of his predecessor, goes in for deficit spending of his own. Why? Because he finds it politically impossible to retrench—not on military expenses, which come down quite drastically—but on domestic expenses, which are huge, and implacable. In order to invoke theoretical orthodoxy, the Republican President and his ingenious advisers come up with the theory that there are two kinds of deficit spending, the one evil and Democratic, the other permissible and Republican.

Unfortunately, the Republican President discovers that his war on inflation is not getting very far. Notwithstanding the reassurances he has given over and over again to the people, they know, from the gnawing feel of their pocketbook, that inflation continues, and that the Republican President's program is not bringing about the desired results.

The Democratic Opposition to the Republican President is meanwhile extremely impatient at the Republican President's apparent indifference to the suffering of the public as the result of inflation and unemployment. Leading advisers of the Democratic Opposition begin making concrete proposals to the Republican President. They vary, reflecting the general confusion. But on a single point, there seems to be something very near to legislative unanimity, and even theoretical unanimity. Price and wage controls. Professor John Kenneth Galbraith announces not only that these are called for now, to cope with this particular emergency. But that in fact, selective wage and price controls, to apply to key enterprises, are probably needed forever. The Democratically controlled Congress of the United States, carried along by the pressure, votes to give the Republican President the power to invoke the price controls whenever he chooses to do so. The Republican President swears he will never do anything that hortatory to the free-market system, but as the months go by, and inflation continues, there is Doubt in the Public Mind.

THEN SUDDENLY the Republican President goes on the air, and behold he announces that he will freeze wages and prices, and do a number of other things, in order to reduce inflation, reduce unemployment and bolster the value of the dollar. The Democratic Opposition is temporarily speechless. On the one hand, they have been calling for Strong Executive Action to combat the bad economy. On the other hand, they have proceeded on the assumption that Strong Executive Action is something that can only be provided by a Democratic President which, for reasons specified by an aggregation of reactionaries who met in 1789, cannot come about until 1973.

Under the circumstances, the Democratic Opposition started finding faults in the Republican President's program, especially with those provisions in it which were directed at persuading companies to spend more money on expansion, the Democrats' point being that this was a pro rich-people provision, never mind that the Republican Administration said look, the investment credit idea is something two Democratic Presidents urged only yesterday. That's politics, so what.

But then a very embarrassing thing happened. The Democratic leaders of the strongest labor unions came out defiantly against the wage and price controls. In fact, one or two of them who have very great weight in national affairs, said flatly that they wouldn't obey the freeze if it were extended beyond the ninety-day trial period the Republican President suggested, never mind the perpetual freeze advocated by Democratic adviser John Kenneth Galbraith.

And then the strangest thing happened. The Republican President waited for the Democratic leaders who had urged wage and price controls to say: Look, Labor, the Republican President has finally done exactly what we asked him to do, and what is in your best interests, because nobody really profits from inflation.

But—there was silence. AP called the Democratic Opposition. UPI called them. Reuthers called them. Agence France Presse called them. Tass called them. Dan Ellsberg called them. NATIONAL REVIEW called them. And what did they say about the Democratic labor leaders who criticized the Republican President for following the advice of the Democratic leaders? Nothing. And that left how many people surprised?

Nobody. □

INSIDE THE CFR

New York, Sept. 4—There is a bitter fight going on within the Council on Foreign Relations, between what one might loosely call the Establishment wing and the New Left wing. It is not absolutely certain whether the Republic would stand more to gain, in the long run, from the victory of the former or the latter.

The *casus belli* is the designation of William Bundy as the next editor of *Foreign Affairs*, the quarterly journal of the CFR termed by somebody, some time ago, as the single most important publication in the world. The reason that was said is because *Foreign Affairs* has been the journal in which very important trial balloons are floated, and where very serious analyses of foreign developments are ventilated. An illustrious example is the elaboration in *Foreign Affairs*, in the late Forties, of the doctrine of containment by "X," who turned out to be George F. Kennan. Henry Kissinger's famous book on nuclear diplomacy was a publication of the CFR.

So what's wrong with William Bundy's becoming editor of *Foreign Affairs*? Nothing is wrong with it, except that Bundy is not Clean on Vietnam. He was an influential State Department employee during the Sixties, and the Pentagon Papers revealed that he wrote memoranda during that period in which he suggested various

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means of advancing the Administration's policies on Vietnam.

According to the new morality, this was wrong: "anti-Nuremberg," as we now put it. The principal prosecutor of Mr. Bundy is one Richard Falk, a professor of international law at Princeton, whose pursuit of morality led him on one recent occasion to defend the North Vietnamese prisoner-of-war policy. Although Mr. Bundy's defense of himself has been rather philosophical and resigned, he does suggest that what Falk et al. are engaged in is a new kind of "McCarthyism." For those who find that hard to follow, he is saying that just as McCarthy was given to accusing everyone who disagreed with him of being evil, so is Falk given to the same kind of thing, under the New Left dispensation. There is a wonderful irony to cap it all. Bundy reminded an interviewer that Senator Joe McCarthy had singled him out for criticism for having contributed $400 to the legal defense fund of Alger Hiss. O tempora! And if you desire that to be psychoanalyzed, its meaning is: Look, fellows, why should you be so sore at me? I'm so liberal, I once gave money to support Alger Hiss!

In fact, the Bundy group are the conservatives in this dispute. Conservative in the sense that they defend democratic mechanisms. Never mind Bundy's own position on Vietnam, he worked to implement the policy of the national Administration, and that policy was closely plugged in to the public will, and endorsed, indirectly and directly, in 1966 and 1968. If the followers of Richard Falk succeed in reversing the appointment; or if they succeed in sabotaging *Foreign Affairs*, they will have done a great deal to promote the general anarchy.

THERE ARE other factors, however. The Council on Foreign Relations was never the great ganglion of anti-American Zionist internationalism that the kooks in the right-wing fever swamps suspected. It was —and is—something else, which is not altogether wholesome. It is inbred, snobbish and etiolated. Its animus against a buoyant and inventive anti-Communism is palpable. It is out of touch with important currents that flow through America. Recently Professor John Kenneth Galbraith resigned from it "not from the Bundy thing, but out of sheer boredom." Galbraith further believes that as the principal organ of the Establishment, *Foreign Affairs* will not recover from its dalliance with our Vietnam policies of recent years.

It isn't obvious, as I say, whether one should wish it to recover or not. Every now and then, the CFR gang puts on a fine performance, as when a bunch of them went down to the White House and spoke up against the move to withdraw our troops from Europe, as demanded by Senator Mansfield. But on the whole, they are the gentlemen who have ushered us into an age in which we deal with Communist China obsequiously because our anti-Communist diplomacy in China failed; in which we face the prospects of a new isolationism because we could not muster the will to act decisively in Vietnam; in which, in Europe, and in the Mediterranean basin, our voice diminishes as the people there realize that America is becoming a second-class power. The same America whose foreign policy has been written, over three decades, by the writers and principal performers of the Council on Foreign Relations. □

REAGAN THE REVOLUTIONARY

New York, Sept. 10 — The increasing cost in welfare subsidies is a factor in the current economic confusion which will take years to understand fully. Many of the maxims we feed on are rooted on the assumption of up pressures and down pressures. When prices are too high (up pressure), we buy less (down pressure). When unemployment increases (up), wages diminish (down). What has never been sufficiently integrated in these arrangements is the role that welfare plays. If, as is so widely contended, welfare is a "right," not an emergency benefaction by the majority on the minority, then the down pressures substantially diminish. I think of someone, known to a correspondent, who is engaged in a strike against his employer. He is receiving welfare and, in addition, is moonlighting in another job. The (down) pressures on him to return to work are insubstantial. Meanwhile, the rise in general welfare costs are beyond the common imagination, and resentment and bitterness result as the producing members of society are taxed and surtaxed to look after the non-producing members of society, many of whom are: employable.

There was recently a dramatic confrontation on the subject. The scene is the summer White House. The principals are: the President, Governor Ronald Reagan, and for Health, Education and Welfare, John Veneman.

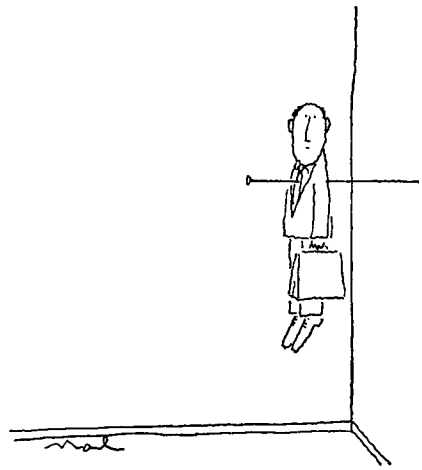
The Governor is asking the President for his cooperation. In recent weeks, Reagan has wrested from the legislature in Sacramento its consent to experiment with welfare modes in various parts of California. In the demonstration areas, a prime roster will be drawn up of citizens whose welfare needs are permanent, or semi-permanent (the blind, the crippled, the very old). Now a second roster is composed—of people who are not on the first roster, but who apply for welfare. They must first present themselves for work in a county-managed enterprise. No work, no welfare. The psychological difference is immense between the Reagan plan and others which empower the welfare-distributing arm to require work after someone has been put on welfare. Such a law (for instance) has been on the books in New York City since 1965, and is a dead letter. People get on welfare—and then, somehow, nothing happens.

A PARTICIPANT in the summit conference at San Clemente interjected that the California plan might well be attempted simultaneously in Illinois and New York, and if that were to happen, the assumption would spread like wildfire that welfare isn't a right. To which the President is said to have replied: I don't believe that welfare *is* a "right." Those who get welfare should be prepared to work, if they can. The subsequent meeting between Mr. Veneman and the press did less than lucidly communicate the position of the Nixon Administration on this critical point.

Meanwhile, extraordinary things are happening in California. Up until a few months ago, fifty thousand Californians per month were being added to the welfare rolls. Under the Reagan barrage, during the past four months, there has been a decrease of approximately twenty thousand per month. The average cost of welfare per person is $56 (paid—roughly—one-half by federal taxes, one-third by state taxes, one-sixth by county taxes). Fifty-six dollars times eighty thousand is $4.5 million—the monthly saving at this rate. Add, if you like, what it would have cost if the trend had continued. Add, then, what would be saved if other states did the same thing. Add—if your exuberance is dogged—the value of the work that would be done by those who are able to work. What you get is a social revolution.

Will it be known as the Reagan Revolution? Or will Mr. Nixon coopt it, as the saying goes? Perhaps Mr. Kissinger should prepare to travel to Sacramento? □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)



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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. The little bird that told me the coffee was scalding hot — 39 2 12 50 150 108 118

B. A place remote from practical affairs — 93 25 145 79 143 156 160 178 30 109

C. A machine for cutting grass — 100 3 133 168 165 24 152 90 180

D. Total — 104 34 59 131 26 125 111 6 91

E. An item of watercraft that travels swiftly — 135 43 103 174 134 142 7 185 28

F. Bombastic — 155 147 138 157 77 8 163 94 70

G. The sound of a rapid succession of light beats or taps as of rain — 92 1 44 5 14 66 114 128 144 154 158 175

H. An intellectual (self-styled) — 124 141 149 35 171 46 71

I. The all-time home run king — 27 33 40 48

J. An imperfection in a board — 110 10 54 60 29 78 15 85

K. Difficult to understand — 119 105 80 126 187 159 36 173 151

L. The month when the October Revolution occurred — 148 32 102 127 162 170 182 177

M. Displayed — 181 87 61 89 37

N. The inventor of numbers, according to the ancient Egyptians — 183 121 88 72 123

O. An enlistment period — 13 49 52 74 82

P. Schooled — 9 38 62 130 95 81 41 106

Q. Sly — 47 57 63 96 139 112 19

R. Round at both ends and high in the middle — 53 20 101 73

S. The market condition that exists when there is only one seller — 76 83 58 176 16 179 115 55

T. A writ from a superior court commanding that a specified thing be done — 161 21 167 64 116 146 136 84

U. A province of Canada — 169 22 97 166 137 17 56

V. Part of a baseball game — 4 153 18 98 184

W. Gnawing, biting, corroding — 31 75 11 65 117 120

X. Dissension — 45 23 51 67

Y. Heedful — 69 122 129 42 140 172

Z. A city's business district — 113 99 86 164 68 132 107 186

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 1072 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

	1 G		2 A	3 C	4 V	5 G		6 D	7 E		8 F	9 P	10 J	11 W		12 A
	13 O	14 G	15 J	16 S	17 U	18 V	19 Q		20 R	21 T	22 U	23 X		24 C	25 B	26 D
27 I		28 E	29 J	30 B		31 W	32 L	33 I	34 D	35 H		36 K	37 M	38 P		39 A
40 I	41 P	42 Y	43 E		44 G	45 X		46 H		47 Q	48 I	49 O	50 A	51 X		52 O
53 R	54 J		55 S	56 U	57 Q	58 S	59 D		60 J	61 M		62 P	63 Q	64 T	65 W	66 G
67 X	68 Z	69 Y	70 F	71 H		72 N	73 R		74 O	75 W	76 S	77 F	78 J	79 B	80 K	
81 P	82 O	83 S	84 T	85 J		86 Z	87 M	88 N		89 M	90 C	91 D	92 G		93 B	
94 F	95 P	96 Q	97 U		98 V	99 Z		100C	101R	102L	103E		104D	105K	106P	
107Z	108A	109B	110J		111D	112Q	113Z		114G	115S	116T	117W		118A	119K	120W
121N		122Y	123N	124H		125D	126K	127L	128G	129Y		130P	131D	132Z	133C	134E
	135E	136T	137U	138F	139Q	140Y	141H		142E	143B		144G	145B		146T	147F
148L	149H	150A	151K		152C	153V	154G	155F		156B	157F	158G		159K	160B	161T
162L	163F	164Z		165C	166U	167T		168C	169U		170L	171H	172Y	173K	174K	175G
	176S	177L		178B	179S	180C	181M	182L		183N	184V	185E	186Z		187K	

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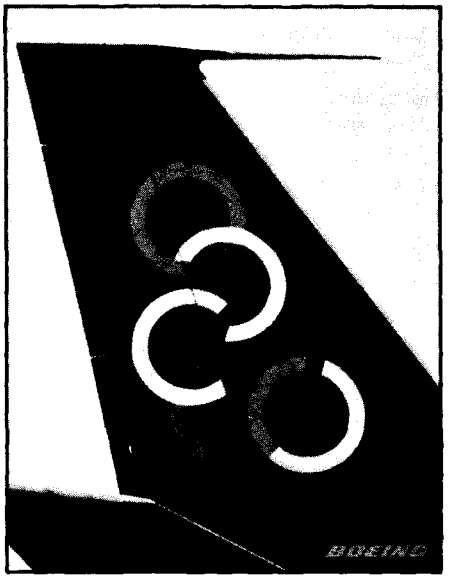

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